

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Volume XXVIII JANUARY 1933

Number 1

## THE FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE EQUESTRIAN CORPORATIONS, 200-150 B.C.

BY TENNEY FRANK

POLYBIUS vi. 17. 2-4 says: πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὄντων τῶν ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἡ τοιούτη ἔξαριθμήσαιτο ῥᾳδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετάλλων, χώρας, συλλήβδην δόσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρματῶν δύναστείαν, πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ σχέδον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῖς ὠναις καὶ ταῖς ἔργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγοράζουσι παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινωνοῦσι τούτοις, οἱ δ' ἐγγυῶνται τοὺς ἡγορακότας, οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας διδόσαι περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

This passage of Polybius was written about 150 B.C. and may serve as evidence for the activities of the knights' corporations of about that time. The conditions described here are, of course, not those of 216 B.C. to which much of the sixth book applies. In 154 Rome (city and *ager*) had about 324,000 adult male citizens, that is, a free population of over 1,000,000. The *ager Romanus* extended, according to Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 320), over about 34,000 square kilometers, that is, about 14,000 square miles.

Polybius does not specify all the activities of the companies. He first mentions the public-building contracts and emphasizes the fact that they spread throughout Italy. He then mentions the collection of taxes, rentals, and tariff dues of rivers, harbors, garden plots, mines, and public lands. Finally, he speaks of the large number of people

engaged not only in the actual work but also as contractors, as members of the corporations, as shareholders, and as guarantors. Polybius was greatly impressed by the sums and the number of men involved, but it must be remembered that he was an Arcadian accustomed to petty budgets. His statement is so indefinite that incorrect conclusions are constantly drawn from it. To make it usable for economic history, it is necessary to translate his generalities into tangible figures.

It is first necessary to recall the fact that the conditions pictured in this passage had not existed long when it was written. For instance, most of the customs collections were instituted in the censorship of 179; not many contracts for public buildings were let out by censors before that year, and the letting of censorial building contracts outside of Rome seems to have been an innovation in 174 (see Livy xli. 27. 11). It is also very doubtful whether the knights worked the Spanish mines before 179. A brief review of equestrian financial activities (omitting the earlier legendary references) will show that the knights very slowly developed the large organization mentioned by Polybius.

During the First Punic War the knights' companies were not used in the transport service; for this work the navy had some eight hundred vessels of its own. In 214, during the second war, the state once employed three companies of nineteen men to provide materials for the Spanish army, but with disastrous results. Some used rotten hulks that sank and collected state insurance on them (Livy xxiii. 49; xxv. 3). This may be the reason why in the subsequent wars in the east the state always seems to have bought its supplies through its own magistrates who provided for the transport (Livy xxxvi. 2. 12; xxxvii. 2 and 50; xl. 31. 8). Even the small contract for horses and military garments in 167 seems to have been managed by the praetor and consul, though here possibly the knights may have been employed (Livy xliv. 16) as intermediaries.

In letting building contracts also there were periods of distrust. In 193 it was the aediles who undertook to build an emporium on the Tiber and two porticos in the business section (Livy xxxv. 10. 12). When in 184 Cato let his rather extensive contracts, he at once had trouble with the knights' companies (Livy xxxix. 44; Plut. *Cato* 19),

and the quarrels between the knights and the censors came up in the Senate repeatedly. The contracts of 174 were not well executed, so that the censors of 169 excluded the operating companies from the privilege of bidding again (Livy xlivi. 16; xliv. 16. 8; xlv. 15). The resulting distrust of them may be the chief reason why the draining of the Pontine marshes in 160 was intrusted directly to the Consul Cethegus (*cui ea provincia evenerat* [Livy *Epit.* 46]). This is enough to show how hazardous it is to assume that Polybius' statement applies to any and every period of the century.

#### THE COLLECTION OF RENTALS, ETC.

The knights did not collect the citizen tax at Rome (which ceased in 167); nor did they collect the tithes of Sicily and Sardinia or the half-tithes of Spain. They did collect the tithes and the *scriptura* on public lands in Italy, but here they had in general to deal with powerful citizen landlords from whom they would hardly be able to make large profits. If the legal allowance for collection was no larger than in Sicily (three-fifths of 1 per cent of the crop [Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 116]), they presumably were left a very small margin of profit. We never hear of any complaints of profiteering in this particular field, for of course the *pecuarii* mentioned in Livy xxxiii. 42 and xxxv. 10 were grazers, not publicans. Beloch estimates the public land in Southern Italy at about 10,000 square kilometers (less than 4,000 square miles [*loc. cit.*]). Deducting a half for colonization and for rough land, we have about 2,000 square miles left. If—as is very unlikely—all of this were planted in wheat yielding 40 modii to the jugerum, Rome's tithe would be about 2,000,000 bushels, and the fee of the collectors would come to about 240,000 denarii the year, a sum that would have to cover all the operations in scores of townships before dividends were forthcoming. These contracts required some capital and a score of agents, but we need not let our fancy imagine returns of any great magnitude.

The *ager Campanus* was not treated like the rest of the *ager publicus*, because the original owners were left on the land as renters in so far as it was not sold (Livy xxviii. 46; xxxii. 7) or colonized (Livy xxxiv. 45). The fact that private possessors seized a large part of these lands (Livy xlvi. 1. 6 and 19. 1 and Granius Licinianus, p. 9) for over forty

years gives clear-enough proof that the rentals were not collected by business men. Finally, in 162 the urban praetor, Lentulus, was sent down to reclaim the state's equity in the occupied lands. He made a survey of the 50,000 jugera left, divided this into small lots, and rented these out at a fixed price (*ad pretium indictum* (*Licin.* p. 9; *Lex agraria* of 111 B.C., l. 21]). Probably the rental was a money equivalent of about one-third of the crop, usual for such public land. But there is never any indication that the knights' companies had any concern with Campanian lands.

The contract for the salt monopoly is not mentioned by Polybius. The censors of 204 had reorganized this so as to insure distributing stations in all towns, with fixed prices scaled according to the distance from the source of supply (*Livy xxix. 37*). Since the price was fixed at only one-sixth of an *as* per pound at Rome, Mommsen is probably right in saying that the organization was formed less with a view to profit than for the purpose of insuring a regular supply of salt. To manage this business some capital was required and a number of agents, but it probably yielded only a fair interest on the investment.

#### POR-T-DUES

There were some six harbor districts in Sicily, and a few in Spain. The 5 per cent port-dues at Sicilian harbors did not amount to much at a time when their main merchandise, grain, was used by the state and was therefore immune from port-dues. In Italy the censors of 199 (*Livy xxxii. 7*) instituted tariff stations at Puteoli, Capua, and the southern colony which was being founded at Scolacium. The dues at Italian harbors were only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In 179 several new *portoria* were introduced (*Livy xl. 51. 8.*), presumably at the colonies founded after 199. Very few of these colonies developed important harbors. Rome and Puteoli were the only citizen-harbor towns of Italy that counted for much in this period (Rome could hardly have collected dues at Naples and Tarentum at that time.) I think it would be very daring to suppose that the profit from the collection of these dues amounted to much before 150 B.C. But the work probably required a staff of several score of men and the capital had, of course, to be provided in advance.

## BUILDING CONTRACTS

Polybius emphasizes particularly the building contracts and says that they extended all through Italy. It was not until 174, it seems, that censors began to direct building operations outside of Rome (Livy xli. 27. 5-12), and then, of course, only in citizen colonies, and municipalities, and with money supplied by the city in question. One censor of 174 questioned the propriety of doing this, and, though it was apparently still being done about 150—when Polybius wrote—there is little evidence that the procedure continued for long. We may assume that such contracts were profitable for some thirty years but probably not much more. As for the contracts in Rome, we have Livy's lists in Books xxx-xlv, and the lists seem to be fairly reliable. The censors of 199, 194, and 189 let very few contracts (Livy xxxii. 73; xxxiv. 44; xxxvii. 58). The censors of 183—Cato and Flaccus—were particularly interested in building streets and sewers (Livy xxxix. 44. 5-7). Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius, the censors of 179, built extensively, having a whole year's *vectigal* for the *lustrum* (xl. 51. 5-7; cf. xl. 46. 16). It is to be noted that these two men were especially interested in providing harbor and retail facilities and that they also established several new customs stations. Their successors in 174, Fulvius and Postumius, also built vigorously in and out of Rome (xli. 27. 5-12). The censors of 169, Claudius and Gracchus, had the use of half a year's *vectigal*, and part of this, apparently a half, was used in the purchase of Scipio's house and erecting the Sempronian Basilica there (Livy xliv. 16. 10). Thereafter there is, as we have seen, some indication that the Senate began to distrust the knights' companies. It is quite possible that the quarrels between censors, Senate, and knights over contracts—reported by Livy in xlivi. 16. 2; xliv. 16. 8—resulted at times in the magistrates' taking direct charge of public improvements.

It is, of course, very difficult to get satisfactory estimates of what "a year's *vectigal*" (Livy xl. 46. 16) amounted to or what it might have cost to build the harbors, sewers, porticos, and basilicas mentioned by Livy. The first mention of a definite sum for a year's *vectigal* is in 62 B.C. when it amounted to fifty million denarii (Plut. *Pomp.* 45). But that was when Asia alone was producing ten million, when Spain, Africa, Narbonese Gaul, Macedonia, and Cilicia were all productive,

when the port-dues had doubtless quadrupled, and the Campanian lands were bringing full rentals. If the *vectigal* was only fifty million in 62, it is difficult to see how it could have been a tenth of that amount in 179.

That may seem a small sum for the long list of buildings reported by Livy for that year, but we remember that the buildings were of modest proportions and that the cost of labor was amazingly cheap. Since good slaves cost only five hundred denarii, the daily wage (covering depreciation, interest, and upkeep) would be only about half a denarius the day (which is Cato's wage), and where free labor was used it would be only about one denarius: that is to say, the Roman contractor could use from twenty to forty laborers for the present wage of a single unskilled workman.

To be realistic, the early Basilica Aemilia, built in 179 of tufa blocks, 2 by 2 by about 3 feet, taken from the Grotta Oscura Quarry that belonged to the state, would require less than six thousand blocks. A slave, costing at most twelve *asses* per day, was expected to cut out eight blocks per day (*Plaut. Capt.* 724). Six hundred denarii would therefore provide the stone. If we allow as much for barging and hauling, and double the amount for the laying of the stone by free labor, this all comes to only 2,400 denarii. Let us assume an equal amount for the columns of the same *tuba* and the stucco, and, to be generous, treble the amount for the timber ceiling and the roof tiling, we still arrive at only 12,000 denarii.

Even if we double this amount again in order to allow for decoration and for all possible underestimates, we are still within the sum of \$5,000 for a building which today would cost more than \$100,000. In 179 the complete list of buildings for which the year's *vectigal* was spent comprised a pier at Tarracina, a small theater—apparently only for the Apollo cult—the plastering of the Jupiter Temple, a dock, the piers for a bridge (completed in 142), the above-mentioned basilica, a market place outside the city, three porticos, and the reconstruction of the Apollo Temple. We know the approximate size and quality of most of these structures. The whole program ought not to have cost more than twenty times that of the basilica. At this rate it would be courageous to estimate the year's *vectigal* (land rentals, port-dues, etc.) as high as 2,000,000 denarii per year. But in order to be liberal we

may take that figure, and in addition assume that in and after 174 the knights had—every fifth year—1,000,000 denarii to spend at the municipalities. This would mean at most a building program of about \$600,000 the *lustrum* or \$120,000 per year.

#### MINES

We come next to the mines, which in Polybius' day were being exploited by the equestrian companies. The most important were the silver mines near New Carthage which, according to a later passage (Polybius xxxiv. 9), were at one time using forty-thousand men. We do not know when these mines were turned over for exploitation by contract, but the most probable date seems to be 179, when the censors Fulvius and Lepidus, who in their building contracts did much to aid business, also instituted new *portoria* and *vectigalia* (Livy xl. 51. 8.). Scipio must have taken over these mines when he captured New Carthage in 209. He could hardly have closed them, since Rome then was in great need of money; and, since in 195 the governor of Spain had the control over them (Livy xxxiv. 21. 7), Scipio doubtless took over the Punic slaves who were in the mines and placed some of his own engineers in charge. The provincial governor seems then to have directed the operations. In 195 Cato, when governor of the province, reorganized the mines (Livy xxxiv. 21). Cato was not on friendly terms with the equites (Livy xxxix. 44. 8 and Plut. *Cato* 19), and there is no reason to suppose that he would surrender state supervision in favor of equestrian control, even if we dared assume that the companies had the capital to manage them. Furthermore, the sums of silver<sup>1</sup> brought to the treasury by returning governors are so large up to 178 that we do best to accept the usual assumption that they included the produce of the mines.

The wars fought during this period were mostly on the rather barren plateau, and Schulten's recent excavations have proved that district exceedingly poor. I should assume that at least one-half of the amounts brought back by the governors came from the provincial ad-

<sup>1</sup> The sums deposited by generals are given in Livy xxxiv. 10 and 46; xxxvi. 21; xxxix. 29 and 42; xl. 16 and 43; xli. 7. The list is not absolutely complete. Livy apparently mentioned the sum only if he had occasion to tell of an ovation or triumph. Hence the large sums brought by Aemilius Paulus (Diod. xxxi. 26) receive no mention in Livy. But this is the only omission that we can now be sure of. I assume that these amounts, apparently carried home by the generals that had with them a large body of returning veterans who could guard the treasure, included war booty, tribute, and ore.

ministration of the mines. They average about \$200,000 per year between 195 and 178.

The last general to report a large sum from Spain was Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who was governor in 179, the very year that Fulvius and Lepidus instituted new *portoria* and *vectigalia* and did much also to encourage business (Livy xl. 51. 8). To be sure, there was also less booty thereafter because there was less warfare, but after 179 we hear of several campaigns that resulted in no accretions to the treasury. It is likely that the knights' companies brought in the treasure of ore after 179. Twelve years later, according to Livy xlv. 18 and xxix. 11, the state closed the newly acquired Macedonian mines on the assumption that exploitation by contract would work mischief. That was after the censors had quarreled with the companies in 174.

I think we must assume that the knights' contracts continued until the Sullan day. Sulla did not hesitate to sell state property for cash, and since his proscriptions wrecked the companies, he may well have been forced to liquidate their operations in Spain.

My conclusion, then, is that the knights' companies began to operate the Spanish mines about 178 when they were producing an average of about 1,000,000 denarii per year. At a later day Polybius (xxxiv. 9) informs us that these mines were producing 25,000 drachmas per day (about 9,000,000 denarii per year)<sup>2</sup> for the state's account, and that 40,000 slaves were employed in them. This passage comes from Strabo, but probably belongs to the geographical excursus of Polybius which was written not long before the Gracchan period, probably about 140 B.C. Needless to say, silver mines worked so intensively could not have been as productive as there reported for very many years, but it is clear that the knights had succeeded in increasing production.

We may attempt an estimate of the financial operations that this statement of Polybius implies. Mining slaves in Spain—Diodorus (v. 38) says they were slaves—would cost less than slaves at Rome.<sup>3</sup> Their

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that this comes to about twenty-five cents per day per miner, if the state took half the production.

<sup>3</sup> The ransom price in 194 was 500 drachmas, and the average manumission price at Delphi was 300–500 drachmas (Beloch, *Griech. Ges.*, IV, Part I, 322). Cato paid from 300 (Diod. xxxi. 24) to 1,500 denarii (Plut. *Cato* 4–5) for slaves. In his *Agricultura* (xxii. 3) Cato reckons that slave labor is worth 2 sesterces per day. Rodbertus (*Jahrb. f. Nationalök.*, XV, 185) in estimating the profits of the Spanish mines placed the cost of slaves very much too high.

upkeep would probably cost about the same as that of Cato's slaves, 40-50 denarii per year. But a heavy allowance must be made for depreciation in the case of this labor. The costs and profits would be somewhat as shown in Table I.

	Denarii
Investment, 40,000 slaves at 400 denarii.....	16,000,000
Smelters, quarters, tools, transport service.....	?10,000,000
	<hr/>
	26,000,000
Annual outlay:	
Interest at 6 per cent.....	1,560,000
Depreciation in mine slaves (10 per cent).....	1,600,000
Depreciation in plant (5 per cent).....	500,000
Food and clothing for slaves.....	1,800,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	5,460,000

Since, when Polybius wrote, the state was receiving 9,000,000 denarii per year, the companies were presumably taking in an equal amount. This would leave about 3,500,000 denarii per year with which to pay salaries of managers and overseers and to cover dividends over and above the interest. The profits were apparently excellent so long as the good veins of ore lasted, but when mines give out the losses in liquidation are heavy.

In order to equip and operate mines requiring a capital outlay of 26,000,000 denarii, the knights must have counted on the participation of a rather large number of prosperous Romans. By way of illustration we might assume some such combination as shown in Table II.

	Denarii Each
20 members subscribing.....	500,000
500 partners subscribing.....	100,000
1,200 investors subscribing.....	5,000

In addition the state demanded that her returns be guaranteed by responsible persons. Finally, though most of the actual work was done by slaves, there would be need of no small number of managers, experts, overseers, and clerks. It is not surprising that Polybius was somewhat amazed at the number of people involved in the enterprise. But it is not likely that operations at these mines continued on such a scale for very many years.

Of the Macedonian mines we know very little. The royal gold and silver mines, from which Philip II had formerly drawn large sums, seem to have been fairly well exhausted by the time that Rome defeated Perseus. They were taken over in 167, but closed for the time being because, according to Livy xlv. 18. 4 (who sometimes reads his own convictions into writers of an earlier day), "neque sine publicano exerceri posse, et ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse." These mines were reopened in 158 and presumably placed under the control of the knights' companies. But we have no way of estimating their activities in Macedonia. There is reason to suppose that Philip and Alexander had fairly well exhausted them.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, there is no doubt that Polybius is correct in saying that very many were interested in state contracts. But when historians assume from his words that many Romans were growing wealthy by means of these contracts, we may call for caution. Since Roman property<sup>5</sup> values amounted to about \$200,000,000 in the year 200 and probably to twice the sum when Polybius wrote, we do not find reason to suppose that over 2 per cent of that property was engaged in the equestrian contracts. Most of the money was still being invested in Italian lands, especially when the broad acres of Cispadane Gaul and of the districts devastated by the last war were being thrown open to settlers and public renters. We may suppose that during the most productive years of the Spanish mines some twenty-five men drew in as much as \$8,000 per year, while some thousands drew in from \$100 to \$1,500; but such returns did not create great estates.

The fact still remains that during this whole century very few men climbed from equestrian rank into the senatorial aristocracy.

The knights' companies rose to considerable power in the Gracchan days, partly because the Asiatic contracts gave them opportunities to trade, to invest in mortgages, and to exact usurious rates of interest in the East; partly because by winning political recognition they could command the popular vote and secure favors from the state. The Senate took its revenge when Sulla came into power. He proscribed most of the wealthy knights (App. *B.C.* i. 95) and struck off the politi-

<sup>4</sup> Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> See *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, 1932, p. 2.

cal privileges of the whole group. It is difficult to see how they could have operated their companies for several years thereafter. In fact, it is probable that Sulla took the Spanish silver mines away from the companies and sold them for ready money. Strabo (iii. 2. 10) says that in his day they were in private hands, and Plutarch (*Crass.* 2) assures us that Crassus had "numberless silver mines." Crassus, as we recall, was one of the most successful bidders at the auctions of Sulla. Since Sulla made free to sell for his own use public, sacred, and private property, he would hardly have hesitated to dispose of the mines. In Asia he removed the knights at least for a time from the collecting of state dues. It would seem probable, therefore, that it was during Sulla's dictatorship that the Spanish silver mines—such as were still productive—passed to private hands.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

## FEAR IN SPARTAN CHARACTER

BY PRESTON H. EPPS

**H**ERODOTUS' immortal account of the conduct and death of Leonidas and his three hundred at Thermopylae (vii. 202-25), Plutarch's glowing tributes to Spartan courage (*Lyc.* 22 *et passim*), Sparta's long immunity from invasion,<sup>1</sup> and repeated mention of the amazing effect in morale which the presence of a single Spartan general had upon dubious military situations<sup>2</sup> have so caught and impressed the imagination of the world that the term "Spartan" has become universally synonymous with the most daring in fearlessness and military prowess. The Spartans have, accordingly, long been generally regarded as history's most outstanding example of inborn valor and unfailing courage. The statement, then, that they were, on the contrary, innately and essentially a most fearful people with a strong and perpetual tendency to become terrified and to act accordingly will come as something of a surprise. Such an interpretation, though, accords better with ancient evidence concerning this people than does the popular estimate of this phase of Spartan character. In other words, "Spartan valor was an artificial and factitious thing," and was something quite different in character from the prowess and intrepidity of the "Viking, the Baron, and the Yeoman."<sup>3</sup>

Thus does Mahaffy go to the heart of this problem (and I know of no other author who does). He further suggests that the submission of the Spartans to their rigorous and unparalleled discipline was really a heroic effort to cure this "national defect," "to make them stand firm in their ranks." By this theory of congenital fear in Spar-

<sup>1</sup> Said by Plutarch (*Ages.* xxxi. 2) to be as long as six hundred years. In fact, very few discussions dealing with the battle of Leuctra and its effects will fail to mention this.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. vii. 2; Isoc. vi. 126 E; Polyb. i. 32-35; Plut. *op. cit.* xxxvi. 4; Justin. iv. 4. Cf. also the deference paid Spartan generals throughout the *Anabasis* ii. 2. 5; iii. 2. 37; vi. 1. 26; vii. 6. 37.

<sup>3</sup> So speaks Mahaffy in a passage in which he calls attention to the fact that the Greeks as a whole "were a very warlike but not a very courageous people" (*Social Life in Greece*, pp. 23-24).

tan character, Mahaffy accounts for the "sudden collapse of Spartan valor as soon as Epaminondas met it with superior tactics" and for the absence, either at Leuctra or at Sphacteria, of anything like a determination to resist even unto death.

Surprising as it may be, Spartan history is singularly consonant with Mahaffy's contention in this matter and the evidence of ancient authors seems to confirm it; in which case the popular notion of Spartan character needs to be revised.

It is characteristic of a fearful people to distrust themselves and to trust the more in something external to save them—in some science, system, or panacea the mechanics of which will inevitably bring unerring salvation. The prospect of powerful enemies will readily incline a fearful people to yield themselves to a military system, and the greater the fear, the more will they be prone to yield to a system even if its exactions be incredibly severe. Moreover, such a people are capable of much confidence as long as everything progresses as the system demands. But let any unexpected exigency arise and their innate fear reasserts itself with increased intensity.

It is well known that the Spartans early intrusted themselves to a military system so rigorous that it mastered "the course of their thoughts and actions from boyhood to old age."<sup>4</sup> By it "their individuality was not merely subordinated but obliterated."<sup>5</sup> Thereafter, everything in the life of Sparta and of the Spartans was so sacrificed to military ends that this state was referred to even in ancient times as a camp<sup>6</sup> in which "the highest object of every man's life was to be ready at any moment to fight with the utmost efficiency for his city. The aim of every law and the end of the whole social order was to fashion good soldiers."<sup>7</sup> "They assimilated even the nursery to their military organization, proclaimed conjugal affection under a siege, and placed maternal love under martial law."<sup>8</sup> This system never released "the Spartiate from its grip and set him free to live his own life

<sup>4</sup> Grote, *Greece*, II, 392.

<sup>5</sup> Grundy, "The Policy of Sparta," *JHS*, XXXII, 264.

<sup>6</sup> Plato *Laws* 666 E; Isoc. vi. 133 A; Plut. *Lyc.* xxiv. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 131 and 133.

<sup>8</sup> So muses Jevons in *A Manual of Greek Antiquities*, by Gardner and Jevons, pp. 427-28.

until it could make no further use of him, until he had no more vigor left in him for living."<sup>9</sup> Surely submission to any such system is entirely in accord with a highly fearful nature and it is difficult, in fact, to conceive of its being tolerable to any other nature. It further be-speaks a vivid apprehension that this fear might manifest itself at any time and degenerate into flight as well as an awful conviction that it must not, at all costs, be allowed to do so. If, then, as Mahaffy suggests, this system was chosen by the Spartans as a means of overcoming congenital fear, its unparalleled exactions are an eloquent witness to the depth of this feeling.

The reaction of the Spartans to this system is just what one would expect of a people controlled chiefly by fear. As a result of their extreme trust in its infallibility they became trained very early to a fixed course of things, and with all their vigor and manliness they were never prepared for any unusual event.<sup>10</sup> As long as this system was permitted to function normally the Spartans could go even unto death with equanimity. But let any circumstance arise which tended to upset its machinery by which "mechanical Sparta fought out of sheer habit"<sup>11</sup> and they at once became panicky. Thermopylae furnishes an instance of where, even after the Spartans learn they are trapped, all is permitted, thanks to Xerxes' slowness, to run its course in deliberate Spartan fashion and they die calmly and gloriously. Even in this case, though, it should be noted that Herodotus, who is not hostile to the Spartans, Plutarch (*De Herod. mal. xxvi. 1 et passim*) to the contrary, engages in a discussion of Leonidas' decision to remain at Thermopylae which suggests something other than inborn valor as the basis for his determination.<sup>12</sup> Report has it that Leonidas sent away the allies, "but he and his men could not honorably quit a post they had once come to defend" is his statement. He adds his own belief that Leonidas thought it dishonorable to depart; and, besides, an oracle had been given to the Lacedaemonians at the beginning of the war which said that either Sparta would be wiped out by

<sup>9</sup> Toynbee, "The Growth of Sparta," *JHS*, XXXIII, Part II, 262.

<sup>10</sup> Curtius, *History of Greece* (Eng. trans.), I, 238.

<sup>11</sup> Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> vii. 220.

the barbarians or their king should perish.<sup>13</sup> Another thing to be remembered in estimating Spartan conduct at Thermopylae is that Leonidas had a picked force of older and more seasoned soldiers.<sup>14</sup>

But on other occasions quite a different attitude is said to have prevailed. Pausanias records how the general Pausanias arrived at Halicarnassus after Lysander had been killed but became *alarmed* (*ἐθεισεν*) at the possibility of being attacked from the rear by an army which he *merely heard* was approaching, made a truce with the Thebans and went away.<sup>15</sup> When about to engage the Argives we are told<sup>16</sup> that they were in the greatest consternation (*ἔξεπλάγησαν*) they had ever known "because all their preparations had to be made on short notice." In fact, this fear and uneasiness manifest themselves very perceptibly whenever the Spartans have to fight suddenly or in any order other than they have planned beforehand.<sup>17</sup> They made light of it when they were told that the Athenians had gone to Pylos; because after they were through with their festival they would easily take the place.<sup>18</sup> But when the attack did not yield the expected results, some of the Spartans even surrendered their arms,<sup>19</sup> an act which occasioned more surprise among the Greeks than any event of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>20</sup> They became afraid of internal trouble and sent ambassadors to Athens to treat for peace.<sup>21</sup> A like miscalculation caused them terror when Alcibiades won an unexpected victory soon after the Sicilian disaster.<sup>22</sup> Thucydides calls attention again to the fear of the Spartans at this stage of the war and adds that they were

<sup>13</sup> Meyer has a theory (*Forschungen*, II, 208) that, without Leonidas' knowing it, those at Sparta desiring innovations had sent him into the pass to get rid of and to silence him. He seems to think Leonidas opposed the innovators and as king could furnish them so much trouble that they decided to get him out of the way. Hence they sent him to Thermopylae and saw to it that he was trapped. No trace of such a theory has been found elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> Herod. vii. 205.

<sup>15</sup> iii. 3. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Thucyd. v. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Witness Pausanias' maneuvers in the early part of the battle of Plataea so that the Spartans might fight the medizing Greeks. Herodotus says (ix. 46) Pausanias suggested this because he dreaded (*καταρρωθήσας*) the Persians, while Plutarch says (*Arist. xvi*) he wanted the Athenians opposite the Persians because they had fought the Persians before and knew their methods of warfare. Farther on Plutarch says (*ibid. xvii. 5*) Pausanias forgot to give the signal to the rest of the Greeks either through anger at Amompharetes or through alarm at the sudden approach of the Persians.

<sup>18</sup> Thucyd. iv. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Thucyd. iv. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Plut. *Lysand.* iii. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Thucyd. iv. 38.

<sup>21</sup> Thucyd. iv. 41.

then decidedly *more fearful than usual* in matters of war since they were engaged in a kind of war *different* from what they were used to.<sup>23</sup> They thus became rather discouraged and thought that whatever move they made would be wrong inasmuch as they had lost all assurance owing to former inexperience in misfortune. These passages show clearly that Thucydides believed the Spartans were a fearful people. Like other people too, who feel that they have found in some science or system a complete and unerring means of safety, they were utterly confused and helpless whenever the mechanics of their panacea failed to meet a given situation. As a result, then, of their discovery that "Athens was invulnerable by those methods of warfare which had always succeeded in the past, the Spartans issued from the first ten years of the Peloponnesian War broken in spirit if not in power, men who had suffered a disastrous passive defeat";<sup>24</sup> strange language, indeed, with which to characterize a naturally dauntless and indomitable people.

The extended and extreme atimia decreed for all who yielded rather than die in battle is also in accord with a predominant feeling of fear. Note what such men were to suffer. They were stigmatized, to begin with, by the term "tresantes." No one would choose a messmate or a partner for any of the games in the palaestra from this class of people. During festival seasons when other Spartans were taking part in games, dances, and processions, or were being given honors, these men were driven into places of ignominy and made the butt of public taunts.<sup>25</sup> They had to give place to everyone they met, rise from their seats even before juniors, and could be beaten at pleasure by anyone who met them, while they were without legal right to resent or

<sup>23</sup> Thucyd. iv. 55. In this passage the fear is attributed to the fact that the reversal at Pylos was ἀνεκπίστον and the war surrounding them on every side was τάχεος καὶ ἀπροφύλακτον. The extreme effect upon the Spartans of any unusual working of nature such as earthquakes and eclipses should be remembered. These were sufficient to cause them to change their plans materially or even to abandon projects (Thucyd. i. 128; iii. 89; vi. 95; viii. 6; and Paus. iii. 8. 2). Lysander, when planning his revolutionary schemes, knew that he should first "alarm and terrify the Spartans by religious and superstitious terrors" (Plut. *Lysand.* xxv. 2). Pausanias says too (iii. 5. 8) that indications of divine activity inspired fear in the Spartans more than in the rest of the Greeks.

<sup>24</sup> Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, p. 335.

<sup>25</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* xxi. Nicolai Damasceni (Müller, *FHG*, Fr. XLV, No. 114) says much the same.

resist such contumelies. Their female relatives could not be given in marriage, and the tresantes themselves were denied the right of marriage and were made to pay a bachelor's fine in addition.<sup>26</sup> They were further compelled to go about unwashed and meanly clad in clothes patched of different colors, with one side of their faces shaven and one side not.<sup>27</sup> It would look as though the Spartans had anticipated in their polity Plato's later dictum (*Phaedo* 68 D) that it is through fear of greater evils that "brave men" meet death with steadfastness; for "with such an atimia confronting them, I do not wonder," says Xenophon,<sup>28</sup> "that they chose death in battle to such a shameful and disgraceful life." And one might add that only among an innately fearful people would one expect to find such a class. Certainly nothing less than a perpetual fear that cowardice was ever likely to manifest itself, or a like dread of the terrible consequences attendant upon its manifestation, could ever have given rise to such frightful measures. Therefore, they dare not trust anything less than the most extreme precautions.

The fanatical conservatism of the Spartans which caused them to lean away from all innovation<sup>29</sup> is also, it seems, consonant with, if not the result of, undue fear; for nothing could be more fatal to progress than inordinate fear. Writers are uncertain whether this conservatism is instinctive or a proclivity acquired by this people from their being "encamped forever as a minority amid irreconcilable enemies."<sup>30</sup> However that may be, they are said to be "the most old-fashioned and unchanging people of Greece,"<sup>31</sup> "who clung to old ways, issued iron money, and were without the enterprise to enter

<sup>26</sup> Plut. *Lysand.* xxx. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Plut. *Ages.* xxx. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Lac. *resp.* ix. 4-6. The harshness of this institution seems to have been abated, if not entirely relaxed, by the time of Cleomenes III, if we may trust Plutarch's account (*Cleom.* 29). The Spartan women even go out to welcome those who had escaped from the battle of Sellasia.

<sup>29</sup> Oncken, *Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles*, p. 222.

<sup>30</sup> Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 132. Grundy feels ("The Population and Policy of Sparta," *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 86) that the conservatism of the Spartans was one of self-preservation, while Pater thinks "the very genius of conservatism was enthroned there" (*Plato and Platonism*, p. 184).

<sup>31</sup> Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 451 and 359. Mill speaks of the Spartans as the "hereditary Tories and conservatives of Greece" who stood for "reverence for law and attachment to ancient maxims" (*Dissertations and Discussions*, II, 412-13). They could even "prefer death to the abandonment of Spartan maxims," it is said (Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 392).

the new world of commercial competition" as it arose.<sup>32</sup> "Over-powered as they were by *continued anxiety* lest they be forced to quit the old traditional paths,"<sup>33</sup> caution naturally became their watch-word and made them "prefer to retain what was assured to them rather than stake it on an uncertain result."<sup>34</sup> Such extreme caution is entirely congenial with an inherently shrinking and fearful nature but quite alien to a genuinely fearless and venturesome one.

Again, "Spartan policy," it is said, "was ever guided by fear rather than by hope."<sup>35</sup> Fear of outside interference in Lacedaemon is considered "the great motive of Spartan foreign policy during the fifth century."<sup>36</sup> In fact, "every other page of Greek history testifies to her own fear of her own situation, as the enormous effect which the seizure of small fractions of Lacedaemonian territory had on Lacedaemonian politics goes far to prove."<sup>37</sup> Moreover, this feeling of fear seems never to desert the Spartan people but appears to haunt them even in success. Thus:

The successes of Brasidas, highly gratifying as far as they tended to dispose the Athenians to peace, *excited at the same time some apprehension* [italics mine] among the Lacedaemonian leaders lest their own allies and even the Lacedaemonian people might be incited to desire the continuance of the war, which they were anxious to end. And while they *dreaded* a reversal of fortune which might renew the arrogance of their enemies, *they feared also* such a success as might too much elate their allies.<sup>38</sup>

The Spartans thus appear not only a fearful people but one continually so.

The well-known aversion of the Spartans to extra-Peloponnesian military activities, their notable reluctance to begin war together with a like indifference in prosecuting it, and their unusual conduct after battle are more readily understandable if the Spartans are thought of

<sup>32</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Times*, pp. 347-48.

<sup>33</sup> Schoeman, *The Antiquities of Greece* (Eng. trans.), p. 278 (italics mine); cf. Thucyd. iv. 55.

<sup>34</sup> Schoeman, p. 287.

<sup>35</sup> *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 72-73.

<sup>36</sup> Grundy, "The Policy of Sparta," *op. cit.*, XXXII, 265.

<sup>37</sup> Grundy, "The Population and Policy of Sparta," *ibid.*, XXVIII, 83 and 94.

<sup>38</sup> Mitford, *History of Greece*, III, 45-46. This author is biased decidedly in favor of the Spartans. Bury says also (*op. cit.*, p. 450) news of Brasidas' exploits were regarded with jealousy and distrust.

as an innately fearful people rendered fit for war by an excessive military training rather than by nature. They could not be bribed by Aristagoras to aid the Ionians against the Persians.<sup>39</sup> Their prodigious indifference to Persia's later invasion of Greece is well known and variously explained.<sup>40</sup> "On Thucydides' own showing, Sparta was ready to preserve peace at any price short of serious danger to her position in the Peloponnesus and at home."<sup>41</sup> Archidamus was so reluctant to come to actual combat with Athens that he was thought to be pro-Athenian. He even sent an envoy ahead of his army in the hope that the Athenians might "give in" before he had damaged their country.<sup>42</sup>

When they finally did go out against an enemy, slight excuses were regarded as acceptable reasons for foregoing a battle,<sup>43</sup> and no one can fail to note the haste with which they returned to Sparta upon the slightest opportunity. As soon as the Persians began to retreat from Greece, the Spartans retreated to the Peloponnesus, and although the Mantineans wanted to pursue the Medes, Herodotus tells us the Spartans would not permit it.<sup>44</sup> Of frequent occurrence in the literature is the statement, "After the general had done these things, he led

<sup>39</sup> Herod. v. 49.

<sup>40</sup> Herod. vi. 106; Plato *Laws* 692 D and 698 D-E; Plut. *De Herod. mal.* xxvi. 1; Strabo ix. 1. 22; Lucian *De astrol.* 25; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, VI, 141; Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, 205 and 545; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, Part II, 269-70; Busolt, *Die Laked.*, pp. 328 and 321; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 321; Coulanges, *The Ancient City* (Eng. trans.), p. 287; *The Works of Lord Macaulay*, ed. Lady Trevelyan, VII, 690.

<sup>41</sup> Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, p. 394. There are not less than eleven passages in which Thucydides brings this out: i. 68-71; i. 118; iii. 10, 13, 29, and 55; iv. 108; v. 13, 14, 109, and 115; viii. 9. Cf. also ii. 12, 18, and 71-74.

<sup>42</sup> Thucyd. ii. 18. 3; ii. 12. 11; and ii. 18. 5. Cf. also Thucyd. ii. 71-74; v. 75. 1-3; and v. 82. 2-4.

<sup>43</sup> Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 55 and vi. 5. 21.

<sup>44</sup> Thucyd. i. 89. 2 and Herod. ix. 77. 1-2. The entire willingness with which the Spartans retired to the Peloponnesus the moment victory over the barbarians was at all assured and their deliberate abandonment of Grecian hegemony to Athens is the more important in this connection because (1) the Spartans were then at the height of their military preparedness and efficiency; (2) they had the confidence of practically the entire Greek world (all the Greeks except the Athenians had refused to fight against the Persians unless Sparta led [Herod. vii. 2. 2]); (3) Athens had been forced to relinquish the leadership of the war to them; and (4) the trust placed in them had been vindicated. In other words, conditions at Sparta were as good as they ever were, and perhaps as good as they could ever be, for the pursuit of an aggressive policy, and feeling outside the Peloponnesus was as favorable as could be asked.

the army home,"<sup>45</sup> and an examination of "these things" frequently reveals measures far below what one would expect of a highly courageous and enterprising people. On one occasion the Spartans, after retreating a bit, had turned to receive the enemy. When they were near one another, one of the older men (seemingly one of the enemy) exclaimed: "Why need we fight rather than make a truce and end the war?"<sup>46</sup> Both sides were pleased with the remark and made a truce, whereupon the Spartans took up their dead and departed. When, on another occasion, the Thebans refused to grant the Spartans leave to take up their dead unless they would depart out of the country, they *gladly* accepted the condition.<sup>47</sup>

But the crowning instance of this policy of the Spartans is the conduct of Agis related by Thucydides.<sup>48</sup> In this instance, every preparation had been made for battle and every advantage, as far as is known, was on the side of the Spartans. In fact, the Argives were surrounded on all sides. But when two Argives came forward and told Agis, *unofficially*, that the Argives were prepared to make a treaty and live peacefully, he returned immediately to Lacedaemon, much to the disgust of the army, which is said to have been the finest army that had been assembled up to that time.<sup>49</sup> Such conduct on Agis' part seems

<sup>45</sup> Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 13 and 19; vii. 4. 20; his *Ages.* ii. 20 and 23; Thucyd. I. 107. 2; i. 108. 2; i. 114. 2; Herod. vi. 81. 1 and vii. 148. 2. Cleomenes' conduct toward Argos, it will be noticed, is a violent exception to this traditional conduct (Herod. vi. 76 ff.). But this Spartan's conduct was generally exceptional, so much so that he is said by some to have been mad (Herod. v. 42. 1 and vi. 84). Cleomenes has his defenders, though, who think that he rather was normal and the Spartans themselves abnormal (Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 259, and *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 159 and 260).

<sup>46</sup> Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 23-24.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 4. 24-25. These two instances, it will be observed, refer to conduct after a reverse rather than after a victory; but they were not hopeless reversals and certainly not decisive defeats. In the former case, we are told, about thirty Spartans had been killed. The tone of the passages as wholes seems descriptive of a people making war against their will, stolidly and without enthusiasm (Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, 210).

<sup>48</sup> v. 60. 1-2. Henderson (*The Great War between Athens and Sparta*, pp. 312-16) lists various theories advanced to explain this puzzling act of Agis, and adds as his hypothesis that things "*had not gone according to plan*" (italics mine).

<sup>49</sup> Thucyd. v. 60. 3. Agis was occasionally capable of more violent conduct (Thucyd. v. 83. 2). But an examination of all the passages will show that such conduct was exceptional on the part of Spartan generals and armies. This is especially true during the fifth century. Plutarch tells us (*Lyc.* xxii. 5) that "when they had broken and routed their enemy's forces, they *never* pursued them farther than was necessary to make themselves sure of victory, after which they retired, thinking it neither glorious nor

the stranger when it is remembered that Argos was the Peloponnesian thorn in Sparta's flesh. It seems difficult to imagine conduct more out of harmony with that of a fearlessly heroic people than the conduct described in this and the two preceding paragraphs.

The deeply ingrained treachery and faithlessness, so abundantly testified to in Spartan character, seem more in harmony with a decidedly fearful nature than with a fearless one.<sup>50</sup> The early period at which this failing manifested itself in Spartan character makes it appear innate rather than a policy forced upon them by circumstances.<sup>51</sup> Herodotus' remark that "the Athenians knew the character of the Lacedaemonians that they think one thing and say another" shows that at the time of the Persian wars, even in such a crisis as was then faced by the Greeks, the Spartans were deeply suspected in such matters.<sup>52</sup> Their unfair methods and "tortuous policy" are mentioned more than once by Polybius.<sup>53</sup> Euripides has the strongest exclamation against this vice in Spartan character in which he speaks of them as "senates of treachery and lords of lying, cunning devisers of evil whose every thought is tortuous, round about and sound in nothing."<sup>54</sup>

---

worthy of Greece to cut in pieces and destroy an enemy that had yielded and fled." Notice how Plutarch, always a eulogizer of the Spartans, insists on the very highest motive for this Spartan custom, for which he cites no evidence nor does anyone else. Others like Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, I, 335) would "be glad to believe that humanity had some share in this practice," but, alas, he cannot!

<sup>50</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* ii. 1; Soph. *Ajax* 1135; Herod. ix. 54 and vi. 79–81; Aristoph. *Achar.* 308; *Pax* 623, 1067–68, 1268; *Lysis*. 629 and 1188–90; Eurip. *Androm.* 436 and 445 f.; *Suppl.* 187; Isoc. v. 92a and xi. 303 A; Paus. iii. 4. 1; iv. 5. 9; vii. 10; and xii. 2–4.

<sup>51</sup> Plutarch tells us (*Lyc.* ii. 1 f.) that Sous, an early king of Sparta, when besieged by the Clitorians agreed to restore them all his conquests provided he and all his men should be allowed to drink of the nearest spring. After all his men had drunk, Sous went to the spring and merely sprinkled his face with the water, declared the agreement void, and renewed the war without giving up any of his conquests. Pausanias (iv. 12. 2–4) declares them "*the first among mankind to bribe an enemy and make victory a saleable commodity.*"

<sup>52</sup> ix. 54. This seems to refer to their character in general rather than to this specific incident. Mahaffy, however, seems to think the early Spartans above "the smallest suspicion of lying" (*A Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 296–97); see also *ibid.*, pp. 121 and 135). Where he gets his evidence for such an estimate of their veracity and honesty is not clear.

<sup>53</sup> iv. 16, 19, 23, 27, 34, and 35.

<sup>54</sup> *Androm.* 445 f. The pains Xenophon takes to emphasize Agesilaus' great fidelity reads like an effort to discredit a belief in Spartan perfidy (his *Ages.* i. 11–12; ii. 13 and also *Hell.* iii. 4. 6; and iv. 3, 19).

If it is true that treachery is more intelligible when thought of as a product rather of an inbred fear than of inborn fearlessness, then the fact that Spartan treachery even issued into an institution like the Crypteia, that system of organized assassination "which even yet stands without parallel in the long list of precautions for fortifying unjust dominion,"<sup>55</sup> shows the extent to which fear permeated Spartan character. Not even Plutarch has a good word for the Crypteia,<sup>56</sup> which Oncken describes all too aptly as a *Helotenjagd*.<sup>57</sup> By the ordinance of the Crypteia,

the magistrates despatched privately some of the ablest of the young men into the country from time to time, armed only with their daggers and taking a little necessary provision with them. In the day time they hid themselves in out-of-the-way places and there lay close, but at night they issued out into the highways and killed all the helots they could light upon. Sometimes they set upon them by day as they were at work in the fields and murdered them.<sup>58</sup>

Participation in this inhuman practice was a part of the Spartan system of education. The statement that the Crypteia was the official detective agency of the ephors<sup>59</sup> and another that it was "originally a military exercise which was debased into a system of organized assassination"<sup>60</sup> are the most charitable remarks encountered relating to this institution.

The crowning instance of Spartan treachery, though, is related by Thucydides.<sup>61</sup> Unusual fidelity and service to the state on the part of helots seems often to have been rewarded by the Spartans with emancipation. Sometime after Pylos had been seized by the Athenians, the Spartans issued a proclamation that as many helots as claimed to have been of greatest service to the state against the enemy should

<sup>55</sup> Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 376. Such is Grote's characterization of the murder of the helots related by Thucydides (iv. 80), but the language seems to me equally applicable to the Crypteia. The inhumanity with which this institution functioned has been graphically and accurately portrayed by Naomi Mitchison in a novel entitled *Black Sparta* ("The Traveller's Library"), pp. 16-25. London: Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square.

<sup>56</sup> *Lyc.* 28. He declares he cannot bring himself to ascribe to Lycurgus so wicked and barbarous an institution, but thinks it arose after the helot uprising which followed the great earthquake in 464 B.C.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, Anhang, p. 334.

<sup>58</sup> Plutarch *Lyc.*, trans. Langhorne, 28.

<sup>59</sup> Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 378.

<sup>60</sup> Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (Eng. trans.), p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> iv. 80. Cf. also i. 128. 1; Plut. *Lysand.* xix. 2-3; Paus. iii. 4. 1; and Herod. vi. 79-80.

present themselves for emancipation, thinking that those who would most readily present themselves for emancipation would also, because of their high spirit, be most ready to attack them. As many as two thousand crowned and presented themselves, and went about the temple as men already emancipated. In a very short time, though, they disappeared and no one has ever known when, where, or how they were slain. Thucydides adds that this deed was perpetrated through *fear* of the youth and great number of the helots. This act is considered "a deed of blood which, in its singular atrocity, leaves every other crime recorded in Greek history far behind it."<sup>62</sup> "Upon any less evidence," says another,<sup>63</sup> "we should have hesitated to believe the statement, but standing as it does above all suspicion, it speaks volumes as to the inhuman character of the Spartan government." Surely such conduct as this and such an institution as the Crypteia seem utterly unworthy of a genuinely brave and fearless people.

Furthermore, the fact that "there was a shrine of φόβον at Sparta just as there was an altar of αἰδώς at Athens"<sup>64</sup> seems highly significant. This was not due to any temporary veneration of this emotion, for the shrine was still in existence at the time of Pausanias.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, Plutarch's sophistical disquisition on the place of fear in the Spartan government reads like a desperate attempt to correct an unfavorable impression of fear in Spartan life. The digression follows a rather casual reference to this temple to fear and seems more uncalled for than is usually the case in Plutarch. He is recounting the murder of the ephors by Cleomenes. One of them, he says, upon being wounded fell and lay as though he were dead, but in a little while withdrew undiscovered into a little building dedicated to fear which was generally shut but happened then to be open. He continues to tell how the other four were killed and how Agylaeus was spared when he

<sup>62</sup> Thirlwall, *op. cit.*, I, 312.

<sup>63</sup> Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 377.

<sup>64</sup> Jebb's note on Soph. *Ajax* 1076. This seems to me another of those happy insights for which, among other excellencies, Professor Jebb has long been noted. There do not seem to be any other two words through which the character and history of these two peoples and their civilizations could be more happily comprehended or better understood. Jebb further describes this discourse of Menelaus in Sophocles' *Ajax* 1071-86, in which he makes *fear* fundamental to good government, as "a genuine Spartan sentiment."

<sup>65</sup> ii. 7. 7.

came out of the temple the next day. Then he discourses on fear among the Spartans as follows:

The Lacedaemonians have places sacred not only to fear but also to death, laughter and such other feelings as people experience. They reverence fear not as one of those deities which men try to avert because they think them evil but because they think *their polity is held together by it more than by anything else*. . . . The ancients seem to me to have thought that manly courage was not just lack of fear but a fear of censure and of lack of glory. For those who were most fearful before the law were most courageous before the enemy and they feared least of all who most of all feared to hear themselves evilly spoken of. . . . Most men too reverence most those whom they fear. Therefore, beside the syssition of the ephors the Spartans established a shrine for fear because they raised that office most nearly to absolute power.<sup>66</sup>

As is true in the case of most rationalizations, the reasons adduced here to prove the Spartans fearless will upon closer examination rather prove them highly fearful. In the first place, they are said to think their polity held together more by fear than by anything else. But upon what basis or experience could a people born courageous and fearless ever arrive at the conclusion that fear was a powerful adhesive element in anything? It would seem as rational to say that what is foreign to one's thinking (for fear is foreign to those innately fearless) is central in one's thought. On the contrary, conscious, antecedent fear seems the only rational foundation for such an inference as Plutarch here attributes to the Spartans. In the next place, those who were most fearful before the law were most courageous before the enemy. But it is believed that an examination of the evidence offered in this article will show adequately that the Spartans were not always "most courageous before the enemy." The fact is they were seldom ever so if anything occurred contrary to what they had expected and planned, or if such plans were not allowed to run their course in deliberate Spartan fashion. In the third place, Plutarch reminds us that most men reverence those whom they fear most, and therefore the Spartans built the temple to fear beside the domicile of the officers they wished the people to fear, and therefore reverence, the most. This seems another way of saying that out of all the elements in their civilization the one which could be most confidently relied upon to command Spartan allegiance was fear. Certainly this could not be

<sup>66</sup> *Cleom.* 9. The quotation has been abridged. The translation is Langhorne's. The italics are mine.

true of a fundamentally fearless people, but it accords well with the feelings of a fundamentally fearful one.

Spartan control over this emotion, instead of growing stronger, seems to have weakened as time went on until they began actually to run for their lives in battle in spite of the atimia awaiting them.<sup>67</sup> As far as is known, prior to 450 B.C. fear among the Spartans does not seem a great deal more active than could be accounted for by the momentous and ominous dangers with which they were perennially confronted,<sup>68</sup> living as they did "face to face with a peril so great that it would have been dangerous to confess its magnitude to the outside world."<sup>69</sup> By the time of the Persian wars, though, we hear that Pausanias asked for a certain place in the line of battle because he feared the Persians.<sup>70</sup> It was *great fear* that made the Spartans admit Tesamenos and his brother to full Spartan citizenship,<sup>71</sup> and *exceeding fear* lest the Athenians medize that made them finally send help to Athens.<sup>72</sup>

From 450 B.C. on, as they are portrayed by Thucydides, it would be difficult to find a people more actuated and controlled by fear than the Spartans. They seem to be driven into the war through fear of Athenian ambition and at the same time deterred from it through fear of

<sup>67</sup> See *supra*, pp. 7-8 and n. 28 on p. 17.

<sup>68</sup> It is doubtful whether anything in Spartan character or civilization can be fairly estimated without proper consideration of the fact that at least from the middle of the sixth century on they were forever encamped as a hated and oppressive minority (perhaps never more than 10,000 [Arist. *Polit.* 1270 A]) among a hating and oppressed majority, the helots (Monroe, *History of Education*, p. 71, says they were as many as 250,000 in number). Very little is known regarding the number either of Spartiates or of Helots. Herodotus says the ratio of Helots to Spartiates at the battle of Plataea was seven to one (ix. 28. 2). There is no mention of the Spartiates' ever having been more than 10,000 as given by Aristotle in the reference above. One of the fullest recent discussions of the subject is Mr. Grundy's article in *JHS*, XXVIII (1908), 77-96, entitled "The Population and Policy of Sparta in the Fifth Century."

<sup>69</sup> Grundy, "The Population and Policy of Sparta in the Fifth Century," *op. cit.*, XXVIII (1908), 82. It should be remembered, however, how exceedingly little is known of any phase of Spartan life or character prior to the fifth century. It may well be this, rather than the unusual control of their fear, which obscures its activity during this period.

<sup>70</sup> Herod. ix. 46. See also *supra*, n. 17, p. 15.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 33-35. So difficult was it to procure Spartan citizenship that this man had to take advantage of the momentous crisis at Plataea to get citizenship for himself and his brother. See Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>72</sup> Herod. viii. 141; cf. also Thucyd. v. 64.

something or other.<sup>73</sup> They peremptorily dismissed the Athenians who under *their staunch friend* Cimon had come at their own request to aid them because they *feared* Athenian tendency to innovation.<sup>74</sup> In like manner, they voted that war must be undertaken not so much because they were persuaded by the words of the allies as *afraid* the Athenians might gain greater power.<sup>75</sup> "By 421 or even earlier Sparta was weary of the war and perhaps *uneasy* as to its continuance."<sup>76</sup> As a result of Alcibiades' activity they were *frightened* into seeking peace.<sup>77</sup> Corecyraean envoys remind the Athenians that the Lacedaemonians are eager for war "out of *fear* of you."<sup>78</sup> One modern author believes the ephors and the popular party were actuated by an ever present *fear* of tyranny in Sparta.<sup>79</sup>

In the fourth and third centuries the tendency of the Spartans to become panicky increases. Isocrates says they pass their lives in *fear* lest the Thebans come against them again and involve them in greater disasters.<sup>80</sup> Again, when told that the great king was preparing an expedition "but the messenger did not know where," the Lacedaemonians became all excited (*ἀνεπτερωμένων*) and summoned the allies.<sup>81</sup> We hear too that the Lacedaemonians, the most expert and practiced soldiers of all mankind, so trained in nothing as to keep themselves from confusion, were, in the battle of Leuctra, so broken in their courage and so baffled in their art that there began such a flight and slaughter among the Spartans as was never before known.<sup>82</sup> Upon the

<sup>73</sup> Thucydides' candid opinion is (i. 23) that they were compelled through fear to go to war.

<sup>74</sup> Thucyd. i. 102.

<sup>77</sup> Nepos, *Alcibiades* v. 15.

<sup>75</sup> Thucyd. i. 88.

<sup>78</sup> Thucyd. i. 33. (Italics mine.)

<sup>76</sup> Glover, *Herod.*, p. 196. (Italics mine.)

<sup>79</sup> Dickins, "The Growth of Spartan Policy," *JHS*, XXXII, 25.

<sup>80</sup> V. 92 B.

<sup>81</sup> Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 1. Cf. also *Anab.* ii. 4. 18 where the Greeks led a messenger to Clearchus and told him what the messenger had said, and when Clearchus had heard these things he was troubled exceedingly and *became afraid*.

<sup>82</sup> Plut. *Pelop.*, sec. 23. This happened too when the Spartans so outnumbered the Thebans that they were maneuvering to encompass them. It should be remembered further that such conduct is not supposed to be due to any degeneracy among the Lacedaemonians because "even down to the time of Pyrrhus they seem to have been in all military qualities equal to their ancestors who conquered at Plataea" (Macaulay, *History of England*, ed. Firth [1915] VI, 2740 n.). It is thought rather to be due to the fact that "now they had rivals in their own method of [military] education, whereas formerly they had none" (Arist. *Polit.* 1338<sup>b</sup> 28 f.). In other words, the rest of the

invasion of Epaminondas, Agesilaus is said to have been equally disturbed at home with the tumults in the city, and the outcries and running-about of the old men who were enraged at their present condition, while the women, out of their senses as a result of the clamors and the fires of the enemy in the field, were even worse.<sup>83</sup> In like manner, Spartan generals are said to have lost their opportunity to capture Thebes through their having become terrified (*φοβηθέντες*) by noise and confused running of the people through the streets.<sup>84</sup> Polybius tells of their *dismay* and *terror* at seeing Philip's army passing along the hills;<sup>85</sup> of their *terror* at the unexpected danger and perplexity as to how they should meet it;<sup>86</sup> and of Lycurgus' men, *terrified* at the approach of heavy armed soldiers, breaking and fleeing.<sup>87</sup> He mentions also their battle with the Achaeans when "the Lacedaemonians *lost their courage* and tried to flee but the greater number of them were killed partly by the Achaeans and partly by trampling each other to death."<sup>88</sup> Finally, then,

they came to be easily alarmed in the presence of an enemy, distrusted their power in arms, and enclosed their city with works of defence, in disregard

---

Greeks were incidental soldiers, and whenever they were matched against the Spartans it was a case of amateurs against professionals. Macaulay makes much of this and more than once (see in addition to the foregoing citation *The Works of Lord Macaulay*, ed. Lady Trevelyan, VII, 671 n.) undertakes to prove that Spartan military pre-eminence was due to this fact and declares Sparta was supreme only as long as she did not have to encounter professional soldiers. He thinks their rebuff at Sphacteria was due to the fact that Cleon's men were *mercenaries*. At Tegea, their line gave way where a thousand *picked Argives* were opposed to them. He says further that the victory of Iphicrates was won by a body of *mercenary* light infantry, and the battle of Leuctra was won by some Theban athletic youths *who had been devoting themselves exclusively to war*. Macaulay thought he had been the first to offer this explanation of Sparta's early success and late defeat, but, just as in many other things, Aristotle had anticipated him (*Polit.* 1338 b).

<sup>83</sup> Plut. *Ages.* xxxi. 4. This is of importance since Spartan women were considered strong and brave to a degree unusual for women. They were given rather extensive athletic and outdoor training. Justin says (xxv. 41) Pyrrhus, upon attacking Sparta, was resisted with greater spirit by the women than by the men. Lactantius tells (*Div. inst.* i. 20. 29) of Spartan women routing some attacking Messenians. But their conduct at the approach of Epaminondas, "which gave them their first opportunity for putting into practice the brave speeches they had been making for centuries" (Susemihl, note on Arist. *Polit.* [p. 284, his ed.]), is severely criticized by Plato and Aristotle (*Laws* 814 A and *Polit.* 1269 b).

<sup>84</sup> Plut. *Pelop.* xii. 3.

<sup>85</sup> v. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Polyb. v. 19.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 23.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* xi. 16. Justin too (vi. 5) speaks of their being shut up within their walls and reduced to the depths of despair while the terrors of war waged about them.

both of predictions of oracles and of the ancient glory of their forefathers whose valor had been for many ages a wall to the city, but they could not now think themselves safe unless they had walls to shelter them.<sup>89</sup>

Thus were the walls of Sparta built for the very purpose for which alone Plato had argued they were built anywhere, to afford the soldiers a place to which they might flee.<sup>90</sup> In fact, in the light of the evidence here presented, it is possible that the prohibition against walling the city, so long in force at Sparta, was another of her measures to discourage effectively an innate tendency on the part of her citizens to flee, rather than remain steadfast, when hard pressed in battle. The fact that this prohibition was reinforced by oracles accords well with such a view.<sup>91</sup>

The Spartans thus appear to have been not innately courageous but inherently fearful. From early infancy on precautions were taken to annul or forestall fear in Spartan children. The women took pains to train babies not to be afraid in the dark or when left alone,<sup>92</sup> and when the boys were later taken over by the state to be educated, any traveling they had to do at night was to be without lights of any kind

<sup>89</sup> Justin xiv. 5.

<sup>90</sup> *Laws* 778 D. He here says that he would agree with Sparta in her policy of allowing her walls to lie sleeping on the ground and not raising them as a means of defense; for they encourage cowardice. Aristotle criticizes this view of Plato (*Poli.* 1330 b f.) as having too great regard for the past and as taking too little account of new and changed conditions. He agrees with Plato that it is disgraceful for those at war to seek protection behind walls as long as the odds are anything like equal. But since odds completely insuperable by any amount of bravery are frequently encountered in experience, walls should be built, and soldiers who, under hopeless circumstances, should seek their protection should no more be thought cowardly than citizens should be thought so who have walls for their houses. Aristotle calls attention also to the fact that it is only those who have walls who can act either as though they had them or as though they did not. In other words, walls rather than their absence prove whether or not a people are courageous. It should be remembered, though that, Plato was discussing walls as a means of developing character and not as a means of revealing character already developed.

<sup>91</sup> Everything at Sparta is very closely associated with Delphi. It is said that Lycurgus received the system of government which he introduced into Sparta from this oracle. It is very natural that he should resort to this source for his laws; for veneration would thus be increased for them. It is said that a line of oracle was worth more than a page of rhetoric when dealing with a Spartan (Sankey, *The Theban and Spartan Supremacies*, p. 89). See Herod. i. 65, 4; *Laws* 632 D; Plut. *Lyc.* 6; Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 72-75; Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 231-32, 269, and 279; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 81; Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 354 and 392; Croiset, *Hist. de la lit. grec.*, II, 112, where he says: "C'est Zeus, c'est Apollon qui ont fait Sparte."

<sup>92</sup> Plut. *Lyc.* xvi. 3.

that they might become accustomed to journey at night boldly and without fear.<sup>93</sup> This congenital fear was no doubt rendered unusually active in the case of the Spartans by a continued contemplation and frank recognition of the alarming environment, literally teeming with fateful possibilities, in which their lives had to be lived. But, even so, the number of words, expressive or indicative of fear, which recur with refrain-like reiteration throughout the evidence pertaining to this state is far too great to be harmonized with the character of a readily adventurous and instinctively fearless people. They seem literally to have passed their lives in fear, and the moral effect of defeat on this people was always of greater import than any loss sustained in the field.<sup>94</sup> At Sparta even a mother's parting injunction to her soldierson was to return with his shield or upon it, an admonition which would be eminently unwelcome, if not positively offensive, to any other than a fundamentally timid character.

If Plato's generalization is true,<sup>95</sup> that all men who are brave, except philosophers, are made so through fear and being afraid, then it is not strange that the Spartans, in spite of being a highly fearful people, exhibited great valor at times. It seems, though, that Spartan valor, as real and as admirable as it could at times be, was, as Mahaffy suggests, a highly artificial and factitious thing and not, as is generally believed, a natural outgrowth of an inborn quality.<sup>96</sup> Yet the high degree to which Sparta succeeded in overcoming this national defect should be remembered as encouraging testimony to what can be accomplished by systematic training and relentless endeavor.

FURMAN UNIVERSITY  
GREENVILLE, S.C.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 7.

<sup>94</sup> Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

<sup>95</sup> *Phaedo* 68 D.

<sup>96</sup> Someone may wonder how Brasidas, the noblest Spartan of them all and comparable, in the writer's judgment, with the truly great soldiers of all time, can be fitted into this interpretation of Spartan character. He cannot. The interpretation here given has had in mind Spartans *en masse*. Every nation has its exceptional few who will not fit satisfactorily into any general interpretation. Brasidas is universally recognized, I think, as a most exceptional Spartan, perhaps the most exceptional one. Archidamus seems another, though less marked, example.

## THE TRADITIONAL METAPHOR IN HOMER

BY MILMAN PARRY

**A**RISTOTLE tells in his *Poetics* of the kinds of words which make for a poetic diction, then he adds: "It is a great thing to make a fitting use of each one of these devices [i.e., of poetic word-forms], as well as of compounds and glosses, but the greatest thing of all is being metaphorical. This alone can be gotten from no one else, and is the sign of born talent, since to use metaphors well is to have a sense for likenesses. Compounds best suit the dithyramb, glosses heroic verse, and metaphors iambic verse. In heroic verse, finally, all the devices which I have named are useful. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Farther on he says: "The heroic meter is the steadiest and the fullest, so that it is the readiest to take glosses and metaphors."<sup>2</sup> Now if we take the term "heroic" as we usually do, as meaning most of all the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Aristotle has said in so many words that Homer's metaphors will show us as nothing else in his style can just why he is great. What, then, are we to make of it when modern scholars tell us that the metaphor has only a small place in Homer, and that it is usually put to no striking use?<sup>3</sup> That it was Aristotle who was mistaken is clear, but we must learn why he thus fell into error. In doing so we shall find we have to deal with that principle of criticism on which at the present time, more than on any others, depends the true understanding of Homeric poetry.

<sup>1</sup> *Poetics* 1459 a 4: οἵστιν δὲ μέγα μὲν τὸ ἐκάστω τῶν εἰρημένων [i.e., ἐπεκτάσεις, ἀποκται, ἔξαλλαγαι τῶν ὄνομάτων] πρεπόντω χρῆσθαι, καὶ διτλοῖς ὄνόμασι καὶ γλώτταις, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι. μόνον γάρ τοῦτο οὐτε παρ' ἄλλον οἵστι λαβεῖν εἴνφυτας τε σημεῖαν οἴτι· τὸ γάρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ δύον θεορεῖν οἴτιν. τῶν δὲ ὄνομάτων τὰ μὲν διπλᾶ μάλιστα ἀρμόττει τοῖς διθυράμβοις, αἱ δὲ γλώτται τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς, αἱ δὲ μεταφοραὶ τοῖς λαμβέλοις. καὶ μὲν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς ἀπαντα χρήσιμα τὰ εἰρημένα. . . . Cf. *Rhetoric* 1405 a 8: καὶ τὸ σαρῆς καὶ τὸ ἥδη καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν έχει μάλιστα ἡ μεταφορά, καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ οἵστιν αὐτὴν παρ' ἄλλον.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* b 34: τὸ γάρ ἡρωικὸν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων οἵστιν. διὸ καὶ γλώττας καὶ μεταφορὰς δέχεται μάλιστα.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. L. Keith, *Simile and Metaphor in Greek Poetry from Homer to Aeschylus* (Chicago dissertation, 1914), pp. 33, 49; Karl Meister, *Die Homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 244, n. 1.

Aristotle's statement does not hold for all Greek heroic poetry because he had in mind as he wrote not so much Homer as the epics of his own age. We may even be sure he was thinking of the two chief epic poets of the fifth century, Choerilus and Antimachus.<sup>4</sup> We know how much Plato liked the verse of Antimachus, and how he defended him against the vogue which Choerilus was having.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle often quotes both of them and does so in a way which shows he took for granted a very common knowledge of their work. In one place he says briefly: "In the way Homer does, not Choerilus," and in the *Rhetoric* he quotes only from the first line of a passage in Antimachus, though it is only in the following lines that the artifice of which he is treating is illustrated.<sup>6</sup> Now the two poets had very bad names for their use of metaphor. Proclus must be giving a critical commonplace when he says: "If the grand manner has anything artificial about it, it becomes very forced and bombastic. The fault usually lies in the use of metaphor, as in the case of Antimachus."<sup>7</sup> Choerilus on his side had called stones "the bones of the earth," and rivers "the arteries of the earth," and though it must be partly through chance, his few fragments show a straining of metaphor far beyond anything to be found in what we have of Antimachus.<sup>8</sup> In his *Perseid* a noble Persian, brought low in defeat, is forced to drink from a broken clay cup: "Here in my hands, all my fortune, is the shard of a cup broken in twain, a timber from a shipwreck of banqueters, such as oft the gale of Dionysus doth cast up on the coast of pride."<sup>9</sup> This, indeed,

<sup>4</sup> Fragments in G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1877).

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch *Lysander* 18; Proclus *Commentary on the Timaeus* i. 28; Suidas, s.v. Χοιρίλος.

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle *Topics* 153 a 14: *eis δὲ σαφῆνειαν παραδείγματα καὶ παραβολὰς οἰστίου, παραδείγματα δὲ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἔτι ἄντινε, οὐαὶ Ὄμηρος, μὴ οὐαὶ Χοιρίλος*: οὗτον γάρ ἄν σαφέστερον εἴη τὸ προτεινόμενον. *Rheticor* 1408 a 1; cf. E. M. Cope, *Aristotle's "Rheticor"* (Cambridge, England, 1877), III, 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* I. 20: *καὶ γάρ εἰ τι τεχνικὸν ἐστι παρά τινι τῶν ποιητῶν ὑψος, πολὺ τὸ μειηκαπνέον ἔχει καὶ στομφάδες, μεταφοραῖς χρώμενον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καθάπερ τὸ Ἀρτιμέσχειον.*

<sup>8</sup> Tzetzes, in Walz's *Rheticori Graeci*, III, 650: *ωστερ ποιεῖ Χοιρίλος καλῶν τοὺς λίθους γῆς δοτᾶ, τοὺς ποταμοὺς γῆς φλέβας.*

<sup>9</sup> *Athenaeus* xi. 464 A:

*χεραῖν δ' δόλον ἔχω κύλικος τρύφος ἀμφὶς ἱαγός,  
ἀνδρῶν δαιτυμόνων νανάγιον, οὐαὶ τε πολλὰ  
πνεῦμα Διωνύσου πρὸς ὑθριος ἔκβαλεν ἄκτας.*

is what one might look for after his prologue, which Aristotle quotes: "Happy the man who in those times was skilled in song and comrade of the Muses, when the meadow was unmowed. Now, when all has been allotted and the arts have their outcomes, we are left last in the race, and though we gaze everywhither there is no chariot newly yoked to which we may win."<sup>10</sup> One sees straightway that the very thing might be done for Choerilus which was done by a critic of modern poetry who made a study of the metaphors of Guillaume Apollinaire, the French symbolist poet, because he could find in them the essence of the poet's thought.<sup>11</sup> But what is true of Choerilus and Antimachus, and of Aristotle's friend Aeschrius who called the new moon "heaven's fair new letter—*s*,"<sup>12</sup> and of modern verse, is not true of Homer.

It is not that metaphors are lacking in Homer, or that when taken by themselves they are not striking enough. The rhetoricians usually took their examples from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Aristotle has the highest praise for Homer's metaphors "from living to lifeless," such as that in which he says of Sisyphus' punishment, "back to the bottom rolled the shameless stone," or speaks of spears which, having fallen short, "stood in the ground, yearning to sate themselves on flesh."<sup>13</sup> Demetrius dwells at length on "the ruinous battle quivered with spears,"<sup>14</sup> and Byzantine writers are still quoting "unquenchable laughter," "shepherd of the people," and "the seed of fire."<sup>15</sup> When

<sup>10</sup> *Rhetoric* 1415 a: "Διάκαρ, δστις έγν κείνον χρόνον ίδρις άιδης, Μουσάων Θεράπων, έτ' ἀκήρατος ήτι λευών· νῦν δ' δε πάτα δέδασται, έχουσι δὲ πείρατα τέχναι, θστατοι ώστε δρόμου καταλεπομεθ, οὐδέ πη λεστι πάντη παταλινοντα νεούνγες ἄρμα πελάσσαι.

<sup>11</sup> P. B. Rice, "A Modern Poet's Technique: Guillaume Apollinaire" in *The Symposium*, II (1931), 470.

<sup>12</sup> Tzetzes, loc. cit.: μήν τὸ καλὸν οὐρανοῦ νέον σύγμα.

<sup>13</sup> *Rhetoric* 1411 b 31: καὶ ὡς κέχορηται πολλαχοῦ "Ομηρος, τὸ τὰ ἀψυχα ἔμψυχα ποιεῖν διὰ τῆς μεταφορᾶς. ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τῷ εἰνέργειαν ποιεῖν εἰδοκμεῖ, οἷον ἐν τούσδε, "ἄβρις ἐπὶ δάπεδον διεκλινότεο λάσας ἀναιδῆς (λ 598)" καὶ "ἐπτατ" διστός (N 588)" καὶ "ἐπίπτεσθαι μενεαίνων (Δ 126)" καὶ "εν γαλη λοταντο λιλαιόμενο χρούς ἀσαι (Λ 574)" καὶ "αἰχμὴ δὲ στέρνοι διέσυντο μαιμώσα (Ο 541)." "

<sup>14</sup> *On Style* 82: ἔντι μέντοι σαφέστερον ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς λέγεται καὶ κυριώτερον η περ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κυρίοις, ὡς τὸ "ἴφριζεν δὲ μάχη." οὐ γάρ ἂν τις μεταβαλῶν διὰ κυρίων οὖτ' ἀληθέστερον εἴποι οὐτε σαφέστερον.

<sup>15</sup> ἀσβεστος γέλως (Α 599), πρίμενα λαῶν (B 18), σπέρμα πυρὸς (ε 490), etc. Cf. Coondrius, "On Figures of Speech," in Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 291; Tryphon, "On Figures of Speech," in *ibid.*, p. 273.

thus weighed alone, however, these phrases are not at all what they are in their place in the poems. There the way they are used and their use over and over have given them a sense which is utterly lost when they are torn from the poetry. They are fixed metaphors.

The true fixed metaphor has not existed in English poetry since the days when Anglo-Saxon was spoken. Nevertheless some idea of its nature can be gotten if we consider the use of metaphor in the English Augustan age. This was the one time in English literature when poets used a diction which was at all fixed.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Johnson sets forth its theory thus:

Every language of a learned nation necessarily divides itself into diction scholastick and popular, grave and familiar, elegant and gross; and from a nice distinction of these different parts arises a great part of the beauty of style. But if we except a few minds, the favourites of nature, to whom their own original rectitude was in the place of rules, this delicacy of selection was little known to our authors. . . . There was therefore before the time of Dryden no poetical diction: no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestick use and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts. Words too familiar or too remote defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions, we do not easily receive strong impressions or delightful images; and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should transmit to things.<sup>17</sup>

Such an idea of poetic diction is of course far too small to be true: Johnson has merely put into words his feeling that only a very certain class of words and phrases were "appropriate" to poetry. There is no need here to question his notion of the proper. The thing to mark is that almost every other writer of the time shared the notion, so that most of the poetry was written in a style which largely used the same words and types of phrases, and very often even the same phrases. The verse form also had no small part in this fixation of the poetic diction, since the close form of the heroic couplet often prompted the

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Thomas Quayle, *Poetic Diction: A Study of Eighteenth Century Verse* (London, 1924); R. D. Havens, "Poetic Diction of the English Classicists," in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 435-44; Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth* (Chicago, 1909), pp. 1-57.

<sup>17</sup> *Lives of the English Poets: Dryden*, ed. G. B. Hill, III, 420.

repeated use of certain types of phrases. Pope, in his *Essay on Criticism*, is all without knowing it his own critic:

Whene'er you find the "cooling western breeze,"  
In the next line it "whispers through the trees";  
If crystal streams "with pleasing murmur creep"  
The reader's threaten'd, not in vain, with "sleep."<sup>18</sup>

A certain diction, in short, became the style, and the words and phrases which made it up came to have not only the meaning which they would naturally have, but also the quality of "propriety," which in time tended to do away with the meaning. Phrases and types of phrases came to be used with less thought for what they said and more for the sake of their correctness.

In this fixed diction the metaphor has a large place. It was one of the most elegant ways of keeping away from the commonplace word, so that certain correct and pleasing metaphors were used until their meaning was quite lost. Shakspere had written of

The watery kingdom, whose ambitious head  
Spits in the face of heaven—<sup>19</sup>

and one feels in the verses all the violence of Elizabethan thought. Milton likewise had lamented Lycidas

Sunk though he be beneath the watery floar.<sup>20</sup>

Here, it might seem to the casual reader, the meaning of the metaphor cannot be forced; but Milton had in mind Virgil's lines:

vastis tremit ietibus aerea puppis  
subtrahiturque solum,<sup>21</sup>

and in his close-packed thought the metaphor means that the ship sunk in the very element which ships are built to float on. It is far otherwise with the poets who followed and used this sort of metaphor for the sea. *Aequor* of the Latin poets came over into English verse

<sup>18</sup> Ll. 350-53. Cf. G. Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody* (1908), II, 449.

<sup>19</sup> *Merchant of Venice*, Act II, scene vii, l. 44.

<sup>20</sup> L. 167.

<sup>21</sup> *Aeneid* v. 198 f. Milton's commentators usually give *aequor* as the source of the metaphor and find in it the thought of the level seal; but it is not possible that *aequor* ever meant "floor" to Milton.

as "plain," which Dryden already used until the word has been emptied of its meaning:

Oenus was next, who led his native train  
Of hardy warriors through the watery plain,<sup>22</sup>

he skims the liquid plains  
High on his chariot,<sup>23</sup>

and so on. But the metaphor only had all the more charm for Pope, who likewise used it over and over:

Pikes, the tyrants of the watery plains,<sup>24</sup>

and

Meanwhile our vessels plough the liquid plain,<sup>25</sup>

and so on. Indeed, the phrases are to be found in almost every poet of the age. Even Falconer, who was a sailor, must speak of the sea in the same fixed way. Of a ship he says:

Thus like a swan she cleaved the watery plain  
The pride and wonder of th' Aegaean main,<sup>26</sup>

and of dolphins:

Awhile beneath the waves their tracks remain,  
And burn in silver streams along the liquid plain.<sup>27</sup>

There is scarce need of giving further examples of the fixed metaphor in English Augustan poetry: Dryden also calls the sea a "watery desert," "watery deep," "watery way," "watery reign"; Pope has "wat'ry waste," "wat'ry way," "wat'r'y world," "wat'r'y glass"; and Falconer "watery world," "watery path." Two special types of metaphor, however, should be noted which are common at this time, since they are very common in Homer. The first of these is the fixed metaphor which is limited to the single word and is little more than a poetic synonym. Thus in Pope's *Homer*—to take examples from the

<sup>22</sup> *Aeneis*, X, 261 (Virgil's *Aeneid* x. 180). The Latin says merely: "Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Oenus ab oris."

<sup>23</sup> Dryden, *op. cit.*, I, 223 (Virgil's *Aeneid* i). Here, too, the Latin has nothing of the sort: "atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas."

<sup>24</sup> *Windsor Forest*, l. 146.

<sup>25</sup> Pope, *Odyssey*, X, 54. The Greek has nothing of the sort:

κ 54 αλ δ' ἔφεροντο κακῆι ἀνέμοι θυέλληι  
ἀντις ἐπ' Αἰολίην νῆσον.

<sup>26</sup> *Shipwreck*.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

work which more than any other set up this fixed diction—a voyage is “crowned” with success, a cape with a temple, the sky with clouds, and a conquest is simply “crowned”; men “burn with rancour,” ships “plough” the sea, Philoctetes is “taught to wing the dart,” oars “cut th’immeasurable way,” Hermes’ wand “seals the wakeful eye,” cares are “ lulled,” woes “banished,” and so on. Second, there is the fixed metaphor in the epithet. To Pope and Dryden anything white is “snowy” or “silver,” anything colored “enamel’d” or “painted,” anything that had a yellow gleam “golden.”<sup>28</sup>

Many moderns, following the Romantics, still feel the greatest scorn for such a way of writing and for that state of mind which would rather call the sea a “glass,” “way,” “main,” “desert,” “wave,” “waste,” “foam,” “tide,” “flood,” “deep,” or “billow” than give it its own name.<sup>29</sup> The reaction to the so-called age of classicism brought in the view which is still held that each word a poet uses should be the word of his very own thought and never simply a word that other poets had used. For our own poetry such an opinion is altogether sound, but to condemn the diction of the English Augustan age on the same principle is a sort of criticism which is too simple to be true, for it fails to see that what the words lost in meaning they gained in charm of correctness. We must judge not the device in itself but the state of mind which found pleasure in the device, and, more largely, the society which set up such a state of mind as the most desirable one. The men of that time were agreed that certain words and phrases were more noble than others. We must not then condemn the language of their poetry before we have condemned their entire way of life, since their fixed diction, of which we have taken the fixed metaphor as an example, is a valid and finished sign of their common outlook.

Many times greater, however, in reading Homer is the need of thus understanding that what a diction loses through common use it gains in the kind of charm which suits the times, for the diction of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, being altogether traditional, is fixed to a point of which English poetry can give us only a faint notion, and is filled with

<sup>28</sup> All these examples are taken from Books IV and V of Pope’s *Odyssey*.

<sup>29</sup> All in the same two books of *ibid.*

phrases emptier of meaning than any in Pope or Falconer. I have written elsewhere about the traditional diction of the Homeric poems, but there is no need here of giving the results of other studies. The metaphor, being typical, will give us knowledge enough of the diction as a whole.

When one has set aside the phrases in which the metaphor is not real, being only the tangible term used for the intangible thing, as in *νοῦσον ὥρσε*, “he roused up a plague”;<sup>30</sup> *λοιγόν ἀμῆναι*, “to ward off the bane”;<sup>31</sup> or a poetic shift of the parts of speech, as in *πολύστονα κῆδεα*, “unhappy woes”;<sup>32</sup> *πολυάικος πολέμοιο*, “violent warfare,”<sup>33</sup> there are left only some twenty-five metaphors in the six hundred and eleven lines of the first *Iliad*.<sup>34</sup> This is a small-enough number in itself, but in reality the place of the metaphor is far more limited than the mere number would show, because only two of these metaphors bear on more than the single word. In the other cases it lies either in an epithet or on a word which merely takes the place of the *κύριον ὄνομα*, the “regular word,” with what force of metaphor we must see.

The “wat’ry way” of English verse doubtless goes back in some way or other to Homer’s *ὑγρὰ κέλευθα*, which is one of the two cases in the first book where the metaphor goes beyond the single word; the loss of meaning in the phrases, however, is of course due in each case to the way it has been used in each of the two languages. Were *ὑγρὰ κέλευθα* found only once in the Greek epic we might perhaps give the phrase all its force, and the English use would have no bearing on it, but by the time one has read the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* one has met the same phrase four more times, always with *ἐπιπλέω*, “sail over,” and once indeed the same whole verse of the first *Iliad*:

A 312 = o 474    *οἱ μὲν ἐπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὑγρὰ κέλευθα,*  
 δ 842                 *μηνστῆρες δ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὑγρὰ κέλευθα,*  
 γ 71 = i 252         *ὦ ξένοι, τίνες ἔστε; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;*

<sup>30</sup> A 10.

<sup>32</sup> A 445.

<sup>31</sup> A 67.

<sup>33</sup> A 165.

<sup>34</sup> Achilles’ insults to Agamemnon—*κυνὸς δυματ' ἔχων, κραδίηρ δ' ἔλαφοιο* (A 225)—are not metaphors, since Achilles means that Agamemnon really has the eyes of a dog and the heart of a deer. Nor is *κυνῶπα* (A 159) metaphorical. Here, as doubtless in the foregoing case, much use has worn down the meaning. The word means only “shameless,” but if it did mean “dog-faced” there would even so be no transfer of terms.

Moreover, one then finds the verse γ 71 = 1 252 without change in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, so that not only does the use over and over of the metaphor wear out its force, but the use with it of other words which are always the same, and which always bring back the phrase with the same rhythm at the same place in the verse, act strongly in making it habitual: Homer's formulaic diction is in this much like the chant of ritual. But if the phrase can thus lose its meaning for us, how much more must it have lost for the Greeks who lived when epic poetry flourished; for we know from Thucydides that the verse was used "everywhere in the same way by the old poets."<sup>35</sup> Nor is this all. The reader has likewise found seven times in Homer and once in the *Hymns ὑγρή*, "wet," used all by itself for the sea; and itself is used as often in its metaphorical as in its real meaning: Homer also calls the sea *ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα*, "the fishy ways";<sup>36</sup> *ηερόεντα κέλευθα*, "the misty ways";<sup>37</sup> and speaks of *ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα*, "the speedy ways of the winds."<sup>38</sup> By this time the reader would think of the meaning of the metaphor only if he stéppód and tried to.

The metaphors which lie in the fixed epithets are of the same sort, and there is no need of going so fully into the background of their thought in the diction. Going on with the metaphors of the first *Iliad*, *ἔπεια πτερόεντα*, "winged words,"<sup>39</sup> is used by Homer one hundred and twenty-three times; *ροδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς*, "rosy-fingered dawn,"<sup>40</sup> twenty-seven times; *'Αχαιοὶ χαλκοχίτωνες*, "bronze-shirted Achaeans,"<sup>41</sup> twenty-four times; *ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις*, "silver-footed Thetis,"<sup>42</sup> thirteen times; *βοῶπτις Ἡρη*, "ox-eyed Hera,"<sup>43</sup> eleven times; *νῆσες ὁκύποτοι*, "swift-faring ships,"<sup>44</sup> eleven times. *θοαὶ νῆσες*, "fleet ships,"<sup>45</sup> is used four more times in the first book and a hundred times altogether. *ἄσβεστος γέλως*, "laughter unquenchable,"<sup>46</sup> is found only three times, and the phrase has been much admired in English chiefly because of

<sup>35</sup> i. 5. 2.

<sup>39</sup> A 201.

<sup>42</sup> A 538.

<sup>36</sup> γ 177.

<sup>40</sup> A 477.

<sup>43</sup> A 568.

<sup>37</sup> v 64.

<sup>41</sup> A 371.

<sup>44</sup> A 421.

<sup>38</sup> Ξ 17, O 620.

<sup>45</sup> A 12, 300, 308, 371, 389. This epithet and the foregoing may hardly seem to deserve the name of metaphor, but the Greeks were more sensitive here than we are. Aristotle quotes as an example of metaphor Homer's *ηῆς δέ μοι ἦδ' ξετηκεν*, "Here stands my ship" (a 185; cf. *Poetics* 1457 b 10).

<sup>46</sup> A 599.

the English words, but the phrase could not have had such vividness for Homer, who uses ἀσβεστος, "unquenchable," over and over for the shouting of men, and also speaks of ἀσβεστον μένος, "might unquenchable, and ἀσβεστον κλέος, "fame unquenchable." Φθίη βωτιανείρη, "nourishing Pthia," where the idea of the metaphor is that of men tending beasts at pasture, is not found outside the first book of the *Iliad*, but the same metaphor is found sixteen times in χθῶν πουλυβότειρα, "the nourishing earth," and in Ἀχαιΐς πουλυβότειρα, "nourishing Achaea."

It is clear to anyone reading the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that these epithets are used by the poet largely for the help they give him in making his verses. Pope, in the verses quoted above, pointed out the same thing in the poetry of his own time, but where the English poets would from time to time pause and pick out an elegant epithet to fill out their couplet, having a large choice of such words and usually making the choice more or less in view of the thought at that point, Homer had usually only one epithet which he used, one might say, without thinking, and he had moreover for any noun that he used at all often a whole set of such epithets, each one made to fulfil a different metrical need. This technique of Homer's epithets can be analyzed into whole systems, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>47</sup> Here it will be enough to give a few examples from the phrases we have just studied. Homer, to simplify his verse-making, has a system of verses which expresses the idea such and such a person said, answered, asked, and so on, giving also the tone of voice when the poet wishes, or some other detail. One special line of this type which is needed is that in which the character who is to speak has been the subject of the last verses so that the use of his name in the line would be clumsy. The one verse that will do this is καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεια πτερόεντα προσηγάδα, or, when the tone of voice is to be given, καὶ ὁ διοφυρόμενος ἔπεια πτερόεντα προσηγάδα, and so on. Homer has this one line for this one frequent need, and its use always brings in ἔπεια πτερόεντα. Likewise, the formulaic line which expresses the idea "at dawn" always brings in the epithet ροδοδάκτυλος. The metrical purpose of the other phrases could likewise be shown. Now the bearing of the practice on

<sup>47</sup> *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928).

the meaning of the metaphor is clear: a phrase which is used because it is helpful is not being used because of its meaning.

There remain thirteen metaphors from the first *Iliad*: all but one of them bear only on the single word, which is thus no more than a word used in the place of some words which would have more usually been used. Pope's use of the word "crowned" for "topped," which was referred to above, was such a word. Here too the word is generally used by Homer alone often enough to wear out even for a modern reader the force of the metaphor. *κάρηνα*, "heads," for "peaks";<sup>48</sup> a ship "running"—*ἔθεται*,<sup>49</sup> a wave "howling"—*ἴλαχες*,<sup>50</sup> a god, "standing over" a city—*ἀμφιβέβηκας*,<sup>51</sup> the "crowning" of bowls with wine—*ἐπεστέψαντο*,<sup>52</sup> "a wall against war"—*ἔρκος πολέμοιο*,<sup>53</sup> "clothed in shamelessness"—*ἀναιδεῖν* *ἐπιειμένε*,<sup>54</sup> even the curious and untranslatable *ἔχετ' ἐμπεφυνία*,<sup>55</sup> have all lost their meaning. Χόλον *καταπέψῃ*, "he shall swallow his wrath";<sup>56</sup> *πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν*, "to pour out wealth";<sup>57</sup> *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς*, "a ravening king";<sup>58</sup> and *θυμὸν ἀμύξεις*, "thou shalt rend thy heart,"<sup>59</sup> may, for a while, keep the force of their metaphor because they are not found elsewhere in Homer. But because there is nothing outside the word to show the reader that Homer had the notion of the metaphor in his mind, and because he soon ceases in reading Homer to seek for any active force in such single words, they too finally become for him simply epic words with no more meaning than the usual term would have.

The last metaphor of the first book is that which praises the speech of Nestor: *τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ὥστε αὐδή*,<sup>60</sup> "from his tongue flowed voice sweeter than honey." Here, there can be no doubt, the metaphor was meant to be felt, but even here there is nothing which one could wish to take as the work of Homer's own new thought. First, the metaphor lies only in the words "sweeter than honey" since "flow" is used too often elsewhere of speech to carry here

<sup>48</sup> A 44.

<sup>55</sup> A 513.

<sup>49</sup> A 483.

<sup>56</sup> A 81.

<sup>50</sup> A 482.

<sup>57</sup> A 171.

<sup>51</sup> A 37.

<sup>58</sup> A 231.

<sup>52</sup> A 470.

<sup>59</sup> A 243.

<sup>53</sup> A 284.

<sup>60</sup> A 249.

<sup>54</sup> A 149.

the idea of "flowing honey." Then the same idea is found twice in the *Theogony*:

τῶι μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσης γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἔρσην,  
τοῦ δ' ἐπέ' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα.<sup>61</sup>

δ δ' ὀλβίος ὄντινα Μούσαι  
φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέεν αὐδῆ<sup>62</sup>

And finally the same metaphor is used again by Homer, this time, and here, as it happens, the following line shows clearly how little Homer felt its force, unless one should wish to make Homer mix metaphors with all the ruthlessness of an Elizabethan. The metaphor is of anger:

ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο  
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἡντε καπνός.<sup>63</sup>

So even the one active metaphor of the first *Iliad*—and the rest of Homer is in no way different—fails to do what Aristotle said the metaphor must do—that is, show why Homer was like no other poet.

At least, it fails to do so in the way that Aristotle meant, for really these metaphors that have been emptied of their meaning do show just what the natural talent of Homer was: it was a talent that worked not in the new but in the traditional. A careless reader of the foregoing pages may have thought that each one of the fixed metaphors which had lost its force was so much to be counted against Homer, but the example of fixed diction in English poetry should have shown him that what the words and phrases lost in meaning they had gained in kind of charm which pleased the poet and his hearers. As the fixed diction of the Augustan age can only be understood as the expression of a whole way of life which we may call the proper, so Homer's traditional diction is the work of a way of life which we may call the heroic, if one will give that word all the meaning it had for the men of Homer's time. It is a term which can only be understood in the measure that one can think and feel as they did, for the heroic was to them no more

<sup>61</sup> Vss. 83–84: ". . . On his tongue they pour sweet dew and honeyed words flow from his mouth."

<sup>62</sup> Vss. 95–96: "Happy is the man the Muses love: sweet voice flows from his mouth."

<sup>63</sup> Σ 109–10: "Sweeter than trickling honey it waxes in the breasts of men like smoke."

or less than the statement of all that they would be or would do if they could. To give form to this heroic cast of thought they had the old tales that had come down in time, and they had a rhythm in which to tell them, and words and phrases with which to tell them. The making of this diction was due to countless poets and to many generations who in time had found the heroic word and phrase for every thought, and every word in it was holy and sweet and wondrous,<sup>64</sup> and no one would think of changing it wilfully. The Muses it was truly who gave those poets voices sweeter than honey. And those parts of the diction which did not carry the story itself, since their meaning was not needed for understanding, lost that meaning, but became, as it were, a familiar music of which the mind is pleasantly aware, but which it knows so well that it makes no effort to follow it. Indeed, poetry thus approaches music most closely when the words have rather a mood than a meaning. Nor should one think that since the meaning is largely lost it ceases to matter if the meaning is good. Though the meaning be felt rather than understood it is there, as it matters whether music idly heard be bad or good. Of such a kind is the charm of the fixed metaphor in Homer. It is an incantation of the heroic.

Aristotle did not understand this. Between the final vanishing of the old oral poetry and his own time two hundred years or more had already passed, and, thinking of Homer as he thought of the epic poetry of his own age, he failed to see that the metaphor was one thing for Antimachus and another for Homer. Modern critics, on the other hand, whose study was more careful, have found that Homer used the metaphor quite otherwise than Aristotle thought, and we ourselves have seen how utterly right they are, so that we are forced to choose between Aristotle's view of the nature of metaphor, in which case we must condemn Homer as mere copier, and the view that a traditional poet is good not because of the new that he brings into verse but because he knows how to make use of the traditional. If we do this we have found a charm far beyond any which can be found by men who wilfully wish to read Homer as they would any poetry of their own day. Indeed, the Greeks were not the men to carry the

<sup>64</sup> As one might say in Greek: τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ξερικὸν οὐ τὸ θαυμάσιον πλεῖστον μετέχει.

historical method of criticism to any such point. For that there had to come a new world which did not know the old by birthright but which, seeking rules of art for itself in times past reasoned much about that art, and more and more closely. In literary criticism generally this was the growth of the historical spirit. In Homeric criticism it was first the growing scorn for Homer's art in the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Italy, France, and England; then the period of Wolf and his followers who, however much they may have failed to grasp the meaning of what they did find, left no doubt that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not such poems as we would ever write, or as Virgil and Dante and Milton wrote; and lastly of our own days in which, through a study of the oral poetries of peoples outside our own civilization, we have grasped the idea of traditional poetry. There is not a verse in Homer that does not become clearer and greater when we have understood that he too was a traditional poet. This way lies all true criticism and liking of his poems.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

---

### IDENTIFICATION OF A PAPYRUS FRAGMENT: OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS FRAGMENT 1598, FRAG. 5

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1598 is described in this way by the editors:

Parts of two successive leaves and an unidentified scrap of a papyrus codex, containing I Thess. iv, 12—II Thess. i, 2 with considerable lacunae. The script is a large heavy round uncial of the early biblical type. . . . The text is interesting, being, as often, eclectic in character. . . . In ll. 60, 77, and 109, the papyrus clearly presented a longer text than any of the MSS., but in no case is the addition preserved, though fairly probable conjectures can be made. In l. 70 the papyrus is shorter than the MSS. The unidentified fragment does not agree with the ordinary text of any passage in either of these two Epistles.

The fragments are dated in the late third or fourth century. Fragment 5 is placed by the editors in the middle of a column, and this statement is made in a note:

This line [144] corresponds in position to line 143, the upper part of the recto being lost. The first contraction was presumably some case of *Kupios* or *Xpiatos*, but l. 144 cannot be combined with l. 117.

For some time I have been trying to solve the puzzle of Frag. 5. I have submitted a previous attempt to Professor Hunt, whose criticism, based upon the readings, proved my solution impossible. I tried again. M. Hombert and M. Bidez of Ghent, where the papyrus now is (P. Gand. Inv. 61), were most courteous in answering questions about the possible readings and verifying or criticizing suggestions of mine. In no way, however, are they responsible for any of the views which I may express. Particularly M. Hombert has helped a great deal by sending me a sketch of the fragment, showing the relative position of the writing on verso and recto. The form and the readings are clearly shown. It is also clear that  $\text{.}|\overline{\text{H}}|$  is opposite CEN of the verso, and there is no writing above it. Both M. Bidez and M. Hombert informed me that a photograph of the fragment would hardly be satisfactory. The latter described it as a very small and fragile fragment, broken into three pieces, and measuring  $3.8 \times 1$  cm.

The argument rests upon these foundations:

1.  $\text{.}|\overline{\text{H}}|$  of the recto corresponds in position to CEN of the verso.
2. There are no signs of writing on the recto above  $\text{.}|\overline{\text{H}}|$ .

I draw the conclusion, therefore, that  $\text{.}|\overline{\text{H}}|$  is *extra lineam*; either to the left of the beginnings of the lines or to the right of the normal ends of the lines.

The writing on the verso must then be approximately at the ends of lines or at the beginnings.

3. Line 60 of Frags. 1 and 2 verso in the published text of O.P. 1598 corresponds in position to line 26 of Frags. 1 and 2 recto. M. Hombert was kind enough to verify this.
4. The most likely place for our fragment [Frag. 5] would be in close proximity to the text of the fragments published in O.P. 1598.
5. Fragment 5 appears to be at the bottom of a column and page.

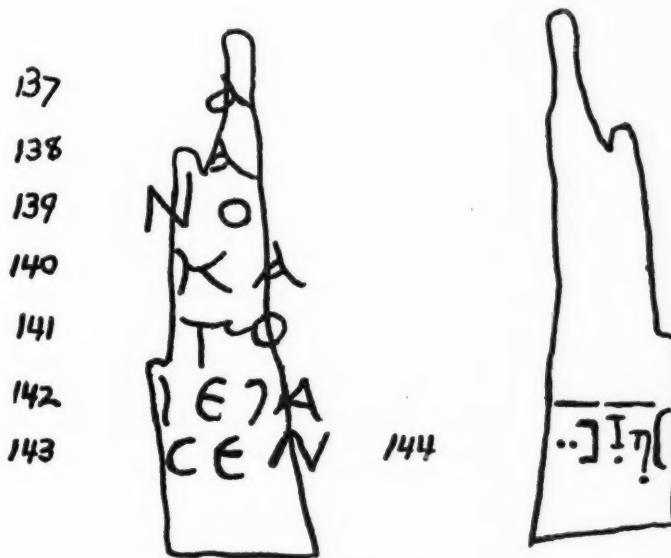


FIG. 1

I should identify Frag. 5 as part of the leaf which contains the text of I Thess. 4:18—5:2 on the recto, and 5:10–12 on the verso; and I believe that it comes next to line 26 of Frags. 1 and 2 recto, and line 60 of Frags. 1 and 2 verso.

The lost portion contained eight lines on each side. The first line of the verso, however, has left no trace on the fragment (Frag. 5). This is not surprising as the fragment is so small at the top that no trace of any letter could be found on it; or a very small piece might have broken off from it. The existence of this line is necessary if  $\gamma\rho\eta$  is to be read at the end of line 60, and the lines of our fragment are to have the correct number of letters and are to show near the end the letters which can be read on the fragment.

The first line of the recto will correspond to the first line of the verso. The other lines correspond in position. . .]!H[ of the last line falls over ]CEN[ of the verso.

How, then, is the first line of the verso to be filled out? Our first and second lines begin thus:

γορωμεν  
είτε καθευδωμεν κτλ.

Perhaps we should supply και τηφωμεν. This has much in its favor. In I Pet. 5:8 *νηψατε* is combined with *γρηγορησατε*. In this very chapter of I Thessalonians (5:6) we find *γρηγορωμεν* και τηφωμεν. Might the writer not have had this still in mind? This would be a rather short line, and this might account

Verso, Ση. 5. I. Thess. 5, 10-12.			O. P. 1598.			Recto, Ση. 5. I. Thess. 4, 18-5, 2.		
No.	Letters Line by line	Letters in line	No.	Letters Line by line	Letters in line	No.	Letters Line by line	Letters in line
1	γορωμεν είτε κακιώδηεβα	20	1	ωττε ππρακαλέστε αλλη-	19	1	ωττε ππρακαλέστε αλλη-	19
2	είτε καθευδωμεν α μόσου	20	2	λους εν τοις λογοις του-	19	2	λους εν τοις λογοις του-	19
3	αυτω ιηψαμεν διο προκα-	20	3	τοις περι δε των χρονων	19	3	τοις περι δε των χρονων	19
4	λευτε αλλήλους κατιοκο	20	4	και των καιρων αδελφοι	19	4	και των καιρων αδελφοι	19
5	δομειτε εις τον ενα	18	5	ου χρειαν εχετε γρα-	20	5	ου χρειαν εχετε γρα-	20
6	θως και πολειτε ερω τη-	18	6	γερβαν αυτοις παρ αρι-	18	6	γερβαν αυτοις παρ αρι-	18
7	μεν δε υμας αδέφοι εις ε	20	7	γως οιδατε οτι γηγενη	18	7	γως οιδατε οτι γηγενη	18
8	και τους κοπιωντα C EN	18	8	π. ΙΙΙ η ως κλεπτης εν νυκτι ου-19				

FIG. 2

for the absence of any trace on the fragment. However, I find that von Soden in his *apparatus criticus* on this passage gives this note: add. *ετε κακιώδηεβα ρ. γρηγια*<sup>70</sup>." It is quite possible that this was the reading of our text; as the editors note, this group of fragments presents a longer text than the manuscripts; and this may well be another place where we have a longer reading.

LINE 2: The editors read *λαρ*; but M. Hombert informs me that the papyrus must have been injured here, as only *a* remains.

LINE 4: M. Hombert feels that *v* is incomplete but practically certain. But Professor Hunt writes me that "since the *v* is marked as doubtful, in all probability καλοικοδ can equally be read; the tip of the cross-stroke of *a* joining an *i* gives the appearance of *v*."

LINES 6 AND 7: M. Hombert informs me that it is possible to read *τω* and *ιεδ*, instead of *το* and *ιευ* as given by the editors.

I should restore the recto in this way:

LINE 1: *ωττε* is possible; line 26 of the published text, which precedes line 1 of Frag. 5 recto, does not need so many letters. If only *τε* comes at the beginning of line 1, the line is rather short.

LINE 8: *ον* of the word *οντως* could well be here, instead of in line 34 of the published text, which seems a little full (23 letters); *οντως* is supplied in line 34.

LINE 8: The great difficulty remains of explaining the position of  $\overline{KY}|\overline{IH}|Y$  *extra lineam* on the left. It is most unusual. I believe it to be an addition, intended as a correction, on the part of the writer of the manuscript. For some reason he wrote  $\dot{\eta}\ \dot{\eta}\mu\acute{e}pa$  instead of  $\dot{\eta}\ \dot{\eta}\mu\acute{e}pa\ \overline{KY}$ , either because he knew that  $\dot{\eta}\ \dot{\eta}\mu\acute{e}pa$  was sometimes used alone, or because his eye caught  $\dot{\eta}\ \dot{\eta}\mu\acute{e}pa\ i\mu\acute{a}s\ \dot{\omega}s\ k\acute{e}l\acute{e}t-\tau\eta s$  a few lines lower down (5:4) in the manuscript from which he was copying and so was deceived into omitting  $\overline{KY}$ . When he realized his error, it was too late; the next line was already begun, if not finished; and his lines were full and rather regular at the ends, as well as near the margin of his column. The next best place for the correction was at the beginning of the next line, *extra lineam*. In making the correction he added too much,  $\overline{KY}\ \overline{IH}Y$ . We do not know what may have been the reading in the manuscript from which this was copied; but we do know that these fragments of O.P. 1598 in several places contain a longer text than is preserved in the manuscripts generally. There is also the possibility that  $\overline{KY}\ \overline{IH}Y$  may have been only an explanatory gloss.

ROBERT C. HORN

MUHLENBERG COLLEGE

#### ON *HOC AGE*, PLAUTUS CAPT. 444

In the volume presented to me by my colleagues (*Class. Studies* [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931]), page 54, Professor Drake refers *hoc age* to what precedes and renders it by "Shake on it," or colloquially "Put her there!" Since this is not in harmony with my note in *TAPA*, XIV (1914), 39, I have been led to re-examine the whole question of the meaning of *hoc age*, with some changes of opinion.

The *TLL* (I, 1380, 52 ff.) lists the occurrences of the phrase under the caption *hoc age, agite, et sim.* The Latin examples are preceded by two passages from Plutarch (*Numa* xiv. 2 and *Coriolanus* xxv. 2). The former in Perrin's translation reads as follows: "When a magistrate is busy taking auspices or sacrificing, the people cry 'Hoc age,' which means *Mind this*, and helps to make the bystanders attentive and orderly." The second passage is to the same purport, but *hoc age* is said to be spoken by a herald ( $\kappa\eta\rho\xi$ , *praeaco*). Since the Greek of *Numa* xiv. 2 has merely  $\beta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ , I suspect that the subject is not "the people," but an indefinite "they," referring to a herald (or heralds, on various occasions). This seems to be the view of Brisson (*De formulis* [ed. 1731], p. 10) and of the writer of the article "Sacrificeum" in Daremberg and Saglio (IV, 978b). The latter says that the call was addressed to "les assistents," was one of three that meant "keep silence" (the other two being *favete linguis* and *parcito linguam*), and was uttered by a *praeaco*, a *calator*, or a *lictor*. According to Mooney (*Suetonius, Galba-Domitian* [London, 1930], p. 250), *hoc age* was "the reply of the priest to the *popea*, warning the assembled people to keep silence and give attention to the solemn act," a con-

fusion (as we shall see) of the use of *hoc age* cited by Plutarch and the answer to the question *agone*, which was probably not *hoc age*. The injunction to pay attention is referred to by Plutarch in *Qu. Rom.* 25, but without mention of *hoc age*.

The Latin examples of the *TLL* call for no special comment. The meaning in every instance appears to be "mind this," or an equivalent, and no example refers to a sacrifice, with the possible exception of Suet. *Calig.* 58, which will be discussed later; the reference to "Hor. *Carm.* ii. 3. 152" should of course read "Hor. *Serm.*" The quotation of the passages from Plutarch and their prominent position at the head of the list seem to indicate that the writer of the article "ago" believed that the expression *hoc age* originated in sacred rites, which Plutarch may possibly imply, but which he certainly does not say. Mooney (*loc. cit.*) also believes that this was the origin of the phrase, and that "hence *hoc age* came to be used colloquially, meaning 'give attention.'" This now seems to me to be unlikely, since *hoc age* occurs repeatedly in Plautus and Terence (with the variations indicated by *agite et sim.*) in the sense of "mind this," while I can find no certain instance of its use in Latin in connection with a sacred rite.

In I, 1390, 36 ff. the *TLL* lists the uses of *ago* "absolute de agendo in sacris." Whether this has any relation to the list just discussed or not, the two uses of *ago* are obviously different; I am inclined to think that there is no connection between them. The example from Suetonius *Galba* 20, "ut hoc agerent ac ferirent," belongs in the former list (p. 1380) in spite of its resemblance to "agerent ac ferirent" in Tacitus *Hist.* i. 41, said of the same event. The reference to *Galba* 20 appears in the *TLL* (in parentheses) in both places, but it seems to be assigned to the second list (p. 1390) rather than to the first (p. 1380), where it properly belongs. Mooney (*op. cit.*, p. 75) translates Galba's last words correctly, in my opinion, as "urging them to do their work and strike the blow." He is also right, I believe, in not citing Tac. *Hist.* i. 41 as parallel, as many editors do; but his note as a whole needs recasting.

Tacitus' version of Galba's dying utterance might perhaps be rendered as "perform the sacrifice and strike." This is implied by the place given the passage in the *TLL*, as well as by the notes of some editors of the *Histories* (e.g., F. G. Moore [New York, 1910]). The latest translators of Tacitus, however, do not seem to connect *agerent* with *ago* in this sense, nor with *hoc age*. Thus C. H. Moore (*LCL* [1925]) has "telling them to strike quickly"; Fyfe (Oxford trans., 1912), "Come, strike"; Ramsay (London, 1915), "Be quick and strike."

If we eliminate the passage from Tacitus (as we fairly might), and the one from Suetonius (as we certainly must), we have three examples left to illustrate the alleged use of *ago* "absolute de agendo in sacris." All these refer to a question said to be put by the *poppa*, or by the *cultrarius*, to the one in charge of a sacrifice (the king or *princeps civitatis*, according to Varro *LL*

vi. 12; some undefined person, according to Ovid *Fasti* i. 319 ff. and Seneca *Rhetor Contr.* ii. 3. 19). None of the three witnesses gives the answer to the question, but it would naturally be *age*, as Ovid implies ("nec nisi iussus agit"), rather than *hoc age*. Frazer in his note on the passage of the *Fasti* suggests that Ovid got the idea from Varro. This had already occurred to me, and I believe that Seneca got his from Ovid, whom he knew and quotes. If this is so, the use of *ago* "absolute de agendo in sacrīs" rests solely on the very obscure passage of Varro. It deserves a place in the *TLL* because of the three examples; but it seems to be purely a literary reference. If the question and answer had any actual existence, it is strange that they are ignored by those who write of sacrifices, including Wissowa (*Relig. und Kultus*<sup>2</sup>, p. 418) and the author of the elaborate article in Daremberg and Saglio, cited above. The use of *hoc age* mentioned by Plutarch is also ignored by writers on Roman religion; at least I have found it mentioned only in the place cited from Daremberg and Saglio. It is perhaps superfluous to say that the *agonalia* are no longer recognized as a specific festival, and that *agonium*, etc., are derived, not from the alleged question *agone*, but from *ago*, a *nomen agentis* cited by Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterb.*, s.v.) from Schol. Stat. *Theb.* iv. 463.

To return to Drake's interpretation, it is attractive because of its parallelism with a modern custom and expression. It cannot be questioned because "mind this," or an equivalent, is the rendering of all the editors of Plautus who translate, or comment on, the passage, including the *TLL* and Lodge's *Lexicon Plautinum*, from Turnèbe to the present day. Nor is it an objection that it is unique, since the occurrence of a word or phrase a hundred times with the same meaning does not exclude a different meaning on its one-hundred-and-first appearance. But the translation seems neither to fit the situation in the play nor to be in harmony with the uses of *hoc age*.

At line 442 Tyndarus has already grasped Philocrates by the hand: "te dextera retinens manu." Then, according to the texts of Goetz and Schoell, Leo, and Lindsay, we have "Tu hoc age; tu mihi, etc." where *tu . . . tu* seems to connect *hoc age* with what follows. The weight of this last argument (such as it is) does not seem to be affected by adopting Drake's reading "Hoc age tu; tu."

A more serious objection is that Drake's interpretation seems to require the meaning "strike" for *age*; just what meaning would be given to *hoc* is not apparent. But *age* does not mean "strike" in the expression *hoc age*. This is evident from Suet. *Galba* 20, where we have "*hoc agerent ac ferirent*." Neither does *age* mean "strike" when it is used absolutely. This is clear from the passage from Tac. *Hist.* i. 41, if we retain it as an instance of that use of *ago*. If we reject it, we still have no example of *age* meaning "strike." In the passage of Ovid it does not even imply striking, since the person who asks the question is not the *papa*, but the *cultarius*: "qui calido strictos *tincturus* sanguine *cultros*." If, as some understand (probably enough, but without

direct evidence), the hypothetical question was sometimes asked by a *papa*, the answer *age* merely implied "strike"; the actual meaning was "proceed," or "perform (the sacrifice)," as it is correctly given by Hallam in his note (*Ovid, Fasti*<sup>2</sup> [London, 1882]) and by Frazer in his two translations (*Ovid, Fasti* [London, 1929], and *LCL* [1931]).

In Suet. *Calig.* 58. 2 it seems to be assumed that Chaerea thought of himself as offering a sacrifice, partly because of the belief (which we have seen to have little or no evidence) that *hoc age* was a "formula in sacrificiis solemnis" (Baumgarten-Crusius, *ad loc.*), and partly perhaps because in *Calig.* 57. 1 a man also named Cassius (as Chaerea was) said that he had been bidden in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. If we adopt this view, Chaerea must have addressed himself with the words *hoc age*, meaning "perform the sacrifice," "do your duty," or something similar. But since there is no evidence that *hoc age* was ever used in that sense, it is probable that he shouted at Caligula the words "mind this," which would be pretty nearly equivalent to "take that!"<sup>1</sup>

JOHN C. ROLFE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

#### DEMOCRACY AND OLIGARCHY UNDER THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Pericles in the funeral speech is reported to have made the claim that the Athenians' form of government did not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others; that they did not copy their neighbors but were an example to them. That this was no passing and idle word but truth and fact is proved by abundant evidence, particularly in the case of the subordinate allies in the Athenian Empire. Thus we find the allies copying the very phraseology of Athenian public documents and adopting Athenian technical legal terms.<sup>2</sup> Most sig-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Shorey calls my attention to two examples from Lucretius, which do not appear in the *TLL* under "hoc age, agite et sim," if at all; namely, i. 41, "nam neque nos agere hoc patriai tempore iniquo possumus aequo animo," and iv. 969, "nos agere hoc autem et naturam querere rerum semper."

*Hoc age* and *hoc agite* are so frequent that not all the instances are cited in the *TLL* (e.g., Juv. 7. 20; Hor. *Epist.* i. 6. 31 and i. 18. 88; and many others), but these examples from Lucretius certainly deserve a place. They are connected with *hoc age* by Munro, Stampini, Merrill, and other editors, who, however, refer to *hoc age* as a formula common in sacrifices, as do also Mayor (on Juv. 7. 20), Wilkins (on Hor. *Serm.* ii. 3. 152), and others. But none of these scholars cites an example of such a use in Latin, except the doubtful one in Suet. *Calig.* 58; even Mayor's very full commentary cites only this example and Plutarch *Numa* xiv. Plutarch's statement is explicit enough, but if the use is common, it is odd (as I said above) that we have no Latin examples.

*Agero hoc* in Lucr. iv. 969 is translated "pursue our task" (Munro and Cyril Bailey), "ply my own task" (*LCL*); in i. 41, "think only of our work" (Munro), "set to our task" (Bailey), and best of all (I think) "do my part" (*LCL*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weber, *Attisches Prozessrecht in den attischen Seebundstaaten*.

nificant is the fact that the allies appear normally to have copied the capital in her democratic form of government. Thus Xenophon<sup>1</sup> says with reference to the Greek cities of Ionia that there was democracy under the Athenians and oligarchy under the Spartans. Thucydides<sup>2</sup> in describing the revolution of 411 B.C. refers to the mission of Peisander, who was sent from Samos to Athens with further instructions to set up oligarchies in all the cities at which he touched on his voyage, the obvious assumption being that democracies were everywhere in control. Aristophanes in the parabasis of the Acharnians<sup>3</sup> claims credit for his services to the state and in particular for having shown how democracy is practiced in the subordinate states. Finally, there may be mentioned a passage of Isocrates<sup>4</sup> in which he states that Athens has established her own constitution in the other states.

This last passage raises the somewhat debatable question as to whether democracy was actually compulsory in the allied states. There would seem to be three ways of accounting for the prevalence of this form of government—first, that Athens had a definite general regulation in the matter; second, that she used her political influence and moral suasion to gain the same end; and, third, that all or most of the allies chose democracy of their own accord. The third alternative, while it might account for many cases, would hardly explain such a general adoption of one type of government in a country where constitutions were notoriously unstable. The first alternative might seem a natural explanation, and indeed it has been urged<sup>5</sup> that democracy was universal in the subject states and that no other form of government was tolerated. But there are serious objections to assuming that any general policy of coercion was adopted. Indeed, the varying arrangements made at Erythrae and Chalcis suggest that interference with the form of government was not a universal policy but was resorted to in individual cases where the circumstances seemed to call for it.<sup>6</sup> The general statements already quoted from Xenophon, Thucydides, Aristophanes, and Isocrates are probably to be taken as true *ὡς ἐν τῷ πολὺ*, reflecting the prevalent state of affairs and not as disproving the possibility of isolated exceptions.

The contrast drawn in Thucydides i. 19 is somewhat inconclusive. Sparta, says the historian, does not make her subjects tributary but merely insists upon oligarchy. Does this mean that Athens insists upon democracy or that her interference is of an entirely different character? The chief contrast appears to be between the non-tributary allies of Sparta and the tributary allies of Athens, but it is complicated in Thucydides' manner by another contrast between what Sparta might have done and what she actually did. Another inconclusive passage is Aristotle *Politics* 1307 B 20. After observing that

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica* iii. 4. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Paneg.* 106.

<sup>2</sup> viii. 64.

<sup>5</sup> By E. M. Walker in *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 641–42.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *IG*, I, 9 and 27a.

changes of government are caused sometimes by internal and sometimes by external influences, the author remarks that the Athenians and Spartans furnish instances of the latter, for the Athenians everywhere put down oligarchy as the Spartans everywhere put down democracy. Aristotle is here obviously not interested in the question of the prevalence of democracy and probably means simply that Athens' influence, when exercised, was always against oligarchy.

But the chief objection to assuming that there was any universal policy of coercion is the fact that two exceptions are recorded. An Athenian decree of 409 B.C. referring to Selymbria<sup>1</sup> provides that the latter is to choose her own form of constitution.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides<sup>3</sup> records a revolt of the people of Samos against the nobles, followed by the establishment of democracy.<sup>4</sup> The case of Potidaea<sup>5</sup> affords another probable instance. The fact that this city received annual magistrates from oligarchical Corinth would seem to suggest that the local government also was probably an oligarchy.

Among the abuses of which the allies had cause to complain, no universally compulsory establishment of democracy seems anywhere to be mentioned. The charter of the second confederacy<sup>6</sup> affords no proof on this point, since it made provision against sporadic arbitrary actions no less than against oppressive laws and policies of universal application.

There remains then the third alternative, that the prevalence of democracy was due to the influence which Athens exerted upon the internal politics of the subordinate states, an influence which is referred to more than once. Isocrates, for example, says:<sup>7</sup> "Our fathers tried to persuade [*ἐπειθον*] their allies to establish the very same polity in their cities as they themselves had continually cherished." Other statements refer to the practice of working with the popular party in the subordinate states. Thus Pseudo-Xenophon says<sup>8</sup> that the Athenians favored the popular party in states divided by faction—a statement which perhaps suggests as a corollary that she did not wantonly interfere with well-established governments, whatever their character. Again Plato<sup>9</sup> ascribes the long continuance of Athens' rule to the fact that she had

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*,<sup>2</sup> 116; Hicks and Hill, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Walker explains this as an exceptional case of leniency due to the desperate situation in which Athens found herself at this time. But Athens' arrangements had always exhibited a certain amount of leniency and elasticity.

<sup>3</sup> viii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Walker concludes that either Athens had been forced to restore the oligarchy because of the incompetence of the democracy set up in 439 B.C. or that the words of Thucydides do not imply a revolution.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. i. 57.

<sup>8</sup> iii. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *IG*<sup>2</sup>, II, 43; Hicks and Hill, 101.

<sup>9</sup> *Epistle* vii. 332B.

<sup>7</sup> *Panath.* 54.

friends in the other cities. In the debate between the Plataeans and Thebans in 427 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> reference is made to the fact that Athens had temporarily gained control of Thebes by the aid of a faction within the city.

These passages suggest that Athens did not act as a purely passive example of democratic government, nor yet did she set herself up as a tyrant; rather it was her practice to gain her ends by indirect means. This procedure had several obvious advantages over a policy of direct coercive measures. Effort and expenditure were saved; the appearance, at least, of liberality was maintained; her subordinates were left with fewer grounds for serious complaints; and, above all, these indirect measures might be practically as effective in attaining the desired ends. It would appear that this was the case and democracy came to be the prevalent, if not the universal, form of government under the Empire.

H. GRANT ROBERTSON

VICTORIA COLLEGE  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

---

#### MARGINALIA ATTRIBUTED TO MELANCHTHON

Through the courtesy of Miss Dorothy Lucas, of the staff of the New Jersey State Library in Trenton, the attention of the writer was recently called to an interesting copy of an early edition of Livy (Basle: Froben Press, 1534-35), on the flyleaf of which a former owner has written the statement that the volume once belonged to Philip Melanchthon and that the manuscript notes in the margins are in his handwriting.

Further inquiry elsewhere revealed three other volumes for which similar claims have been made: (1) a Koberger Bible (Nuremberg, 1477), now in the New York Public Library; (2) a Vergil (Strassburg: Knobloch, 1527), now the property of Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York City (who generously showed it to the writer); and (3) a second Vergil (Paris: Stephanus, 1532), now in the Morgan collection of Vergils in the Princeton University Library. This suggested the possibility of examining the notes in the two Vergils and the Livy with a view to determining whether they were of such a character as to warrant transcription and publication. Before making this examination it was desirable to authenticate, if possible, the attribution to Melanchthon.

Efforts to establish the attribution have, however, resulted in failure. Through notes on the flyleaves and a bookplate in the Morgan Vergil, it was possible to identify, beyond any doubt, all four volumes with the copies of the same editions which are listed in the catalogue of the collection of early printed books made by Dr. Georg B. Kloss, of Frankfurt, and sold at auction by the firm of Sotheby in London, 1835 (see *Catalogue of the Library of Dr. Kloss*

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. iii. 62.

[London, 1835], Nos. 710, 2612, 3821, 3977). Of the nearly five thousand items in the sale, Sotheby advertised six hundred and one as containing marginalia by Melanchthon. In support of his statements in the *Catalogue*, he later (1840) published an elaborate volume of facsimiles from the books which had then been dispersed, entitled *Unpublished Documents, Marginal Notes and Memoranda, in the Autograph of Philip Melanchthon, and of Martin Luther*, and still later (1848) he is said to have published a list of the works from which he drew his facsimiles. The appearance of the volume of facsimiles drew forth from Kloss a long letter (see *Serapeum* [1841], No. 24) complaining of Sotheby's treatment of him, asserting the authenticity of only three of the attributions, and warning the public against the fabrication of a *Bibliotheca Melanchthoniana*. While the tone of the letter is very bitter, the arguments are, on the whole, convincing.

A study of the handwriting in the four volumes will show that it is very unlikely that the notes are all the work of one hand, and a comparison of the notes in any one volume with well-authenticated specimens of Melanchthon's handwriting will show such divergences as to lead to rejection of all four volumes. For authentic specimens the reader may consult Plate VI of Georg Mentz's *Handschriften der Reformationszeit* (Bonn, 1912), and an edition of Aesop's *Fabulae* (Basle, 1524), now in the Cornell University Library (for the authenticity of which see *Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew Dickson White* [Ithaca, 1889], I, 65). With these two specimens a short dedicatory note by Melanchthon to Luther which appears in an *Odyssey* owned by Mr. Plimpton is entirely consistent.

A further argument in favor of rejecting the attribution is the character of the notes in the *Livy*. They are for the most part merely rubrics of the material in the text, and where they give more information than this, they are either erroneous (e.g., the statement that Helen was wife to Agamemnon) or are too puerile to be worth notice. The inevitable conclusion is that they cannot be the work of so great a scholar as Melanchthon. With the two *Vergils*, the case is somewhat different. There are far fewer notes and these seem generally to be the work of someone of intelligence and scholarship, but the sole basis for believing them to be by Melanchthon is Sotheby's suspect testimony, while the negative argument of the handwriting is so strong as to cause them also to be rejected. The examination of the notes in the *Koberger Bible* has been only superficial, and the writer hesitates to say more than that the handwriting is definitely unlike the authenticated specimens. With all these conclusions the statements of three German scholars—Karl Hartfelder (*Melanchthoniana paedagogica* [Leipzig, 1892], pp. 228 f.), Moritz St. Goar (*Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, VI [1902], 201–5), and Hans Lafrenz (*ibid.*, VII [1903–4], 204–5)—are in perfect agreement.

The four volumes under discussion must therefore be eliminated from a study of the work of Melanchthon, and all other volumes claiming to contain

manuscript notes by him must be regarded with suspicion if they can be identified with any of the Kloss collection. The New Jersey copy of the Livy is, of course, interesting for other reasons. It is still in its contemporary pig-skin, which is beautifully decorated, although in places badly worn, and it is one of three known copies in the United States, the other two being in the Library of Congress and the Library of the University of Illinois. It should be noted in passing that Brunet (*Manuel du libraire*, II, 2, coll. 1105-6) is inaccurate when he states that this edition is merely a reimpresion of that of Grynaeus (Basle: Froben Press, 1531), the type having been reset for the later edition.

GEORGE McCRAKEN

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

### THE COWARDICE OF THE CUTTLEFISH IN ARISTOPHANES AND ARISTOTLE

Aristophanes *Acharn.* 350-51:

ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους δὲ τῆς μαρίλης μοι συχνὴ  
δ λάρκος θετίλησεν διπερ σηπία

Aristotle *De part. animal.* 679 a 5, μάλιστα δ' ἡ σηπία . . . ὅταν γὰρ φοβηθῶσι καὶ δείσωσιν, etc. *Ibid.* 27, καὶ τούτοις τούτῳ συμβαλνει μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀφίεναι διὰ δειλίαν; where I think we should distinguish a little more explicitly than the Oxford translation does the purely mechanical, physical, or physiological cause (*ἐξ ἀνάγκης* as in Plato's *Timaeus*) from the psychological cause *διὰ δειλίαν*.

Aristotle is generally thought not to have been interested in Aristophanes. I will not dogmatize as to his dependence on him here, but the coincidence is interesting and is not noticed by Blaydes, van Leeuwen, Rogers, Starkie, Rennie, Graves, and Elliott.

The literature of the *σηπία* and its congeners emphasizes either its edibility (*Athenaeus* 323 ff.) or its cunning, but does not speak of cowardice in this connection. Cf. Plutarch *De Sollert. anim.* 26, 978 AB, *τεχνομένη*, and *ibid.* 978 D, *σοφίσματι*. He does however say, 978 E, that the chameleon changes color not *μηχανώμενος* . . . ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους . . . φύσει ψοφοδεής ἀν καὶ δειλός; and in Themistocles 11 a speech of Themistocles treats the teuthis as a symbol of cowardice. Cf. Erasmus *Adagia* 1078 f. Aristotle himself, *Hist. an.* 621 b 28 ff., says that the sepia uses its ink *κρίνθεως χάριν καὶ οὐ μόνον φοβουμένη* but the polyp and the teuthis *διὰ φόβου*.

PAUL SHOREY

## JOHN OSCAR LOFBERG

John Oscar Lofberg was born at Jacobstad, Finland, April 21, 1882. He died at Oberlin, November 10, 1932. He was a graduate of the John B. Stetson University, De Land, Florida, in 1905 and of the University of Chicago the same year. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1914. His teaching experience was unusually wide and varied. He taught at Stetson University; he was principal of the Sleepy Eye High School in Minnesota; instructor in Classics at Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Illinois; assistant in Greek at the University of Chicago; instructor in Latin at the Oak Park High School; assistant professor of Greek at the University of Texas; associate professor of classics at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada; professor of classics and head of the department at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. The unusual compliment was paid him of giving him an appointment at the summer quarter at the University of Chicago in two successive years. Last summer he taught at the University of North Carolina. He came to Oberlin College as professor of classics in 1927.

His activities outside of his work at Oberlin were notable. He was for two years president of the Classical Club of Greater Cleveland; he had been secretary-treasurer of the Ohio Classical Conference and secretary-treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South; last spring he resigned this latter office to accept the editorship of the *Classical Journal*, the organ of this association.

Mr. Lofberg's publications began in 1917, when his dissertation, *Sycophancy in Athens*, was published. From that time on a steady flow of articles came from his pen. They included articles of scholarly research such as "The Sycophant-Parasite," "The Date of the Athenian Ephebeia," and "Bacon and Demosthenes," published in *Classical Philology*, and "Sycophantia and Synegoria," published in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1923. Parallel with these articles along his line of research, which was Athenian jurisprudence, he published a large number of articles of a popular nature and several that dealt with the teaching of classics. These appeared in the *Classical Weekly*, the *Classical Journal*, and in the *Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association*. Just before his death his final article, "The Speakers in the Case of Chrysippus v. Phormio," appeared in *Classical Philology* for October, 1932. He was associated with Professor R. J. Bonner, of the University of Chicago, in the publication of a Greek reader which is now in press. Although he had edited the *Classical Journal* for only two issues, his personality was already being felt in its columns and he was laying the foundation of what his friends expected to be a wide reputation as a classical editor.

Mr. Lofberg had won distinction as a classical scholar capable of careful and painstaking research. There was about his scholarship a quality which, for lack of a better term, might be called "ripeness," the quality which en-

ables a student, after mastering the minutiae of a subject, to cast aside the irrelevant details and survey his field with a breadth of vision that only wide reading and seasoned judgment can give. In addition to this distinction he had displayed a talent for executive ability which rarely goes with creative scholarship. This ability was evidenced by his successful management of the secretary's office of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South and his work as business manager of the *Classical Journal*. His advice and counsel were being more frequently sought by all classical organizations. He had recently been made a member of the Managing Committee of the American School for Classical Studies at Athens.

To his distinction as a scholar and administrator Mr. Lofberg added a third quality: he was a great and rare teacher. His innate friendliness, his wonderful consideration for the feelings of others, his ready sympathy and keen insight and effervescent humor, made him beloved by all his students. His death has been a shattering blow to the classical faculty of Oberlin College. He had been at Oberlin for only five years; yet he seemed already a large and integral part of the College and community. Few men have in so short a space commanded such respect or won such love.

LOUIS E. LORD

oberlin college

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Die Schaubauten der Griechen und die attische Tragödie.* Von THEODOR BIRT. Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1931. Pp. viii + 298.

Although included, as Band 42, in the *Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte*, this book is not intended primarily for the general reader, as most of the author's works have been, but is "philologische Arbeit und für philologische Leser niedergeschrieben." The evidence presented is old and familiar, but the interpretations are reactionary. In brief, the book is a plea for the "high-stage" theory and a rehabilitation of the thymele as *Tanzpodium*.

The argument is clearly stated, but with much repetition. Like the call to the dead (*Frogs* 1176) each point is repeated again and again. Even so, one suspects, many will not heed. Briefly outlined the argument is as follows.

The Greek theater was not originally designed for drama, but for choral performances in honor of Dionysus. In these the choreutae, of course, occupied the orchestra. But with the coming of tragic drama there was a profound change. Greek literature from Solon to Aristotle contains no reference to the orchestra in connection with tragic performances—Plato, *Apology* 26 E and Aristotle, *Problemata* 901 B 30 are not pertinent (p. 169). Therefore "mit der Orchestra hatte die Tragödie so gut wie nichts zu tun" (p. 283). Dörpfeld has been a dulcet deceiver. Tragedy deserted the orchestra, and this it was that gave rise to the well-known saying *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον* (pp. 4, 92).

We see the beginning of the change in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus for which a huge *κοινοβωμία* was erected and also a second structure for the use of Danaos. The latter was the *σκοπή* mentioned by Pollux (IV, 127, 129), as is shown by verse 713: *τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὅρῳ | τὸ πλοῖον*. The *Suppliants* was performed on two levels, as was also the *Persians*. In the latter play was a *στέγος ἀρχαῖον* (vs. 141), the roof of which served as a stage. "Aeschylus hat hier also an die Sitte der Asiaten gedacht, auf den flachen Dächern sich aufzuhalten" (p. 115). The chorus seated themselves cross-legged—dervish-fashion—on the roof. Here Atossa entered, "wie der Zusammenhang zwingend beweist." "Woraus weiter folgt, dass auch der Bote sich zu ihr auf das Dach hat begeben müssen." In fact, all of the main scene (vss. 140–531) was performed *ἐπὶ σκηνῆς*, and the short *κομμός* (vss. 256–89) was a *κομμός ἀπὸ σκηνῆς* (p. 116).

The *Seven against Thebes* required an episkenion to represent the buildings on the Theban acropolis, for an acropolis without buildings would be an absurdity (p. 121). The erection of this episkenion reduced the area of what in

the *Persians* had been the roof of the *στέγος ἀρχαῖον* to a shallow stage—the proskenion (pp. 39, 120).

In front of this, and of approximately the same height (pp. 153, 159, 175) was placed the thymele or *Tanzpodium*. This was a movable, four-legged contraption resembling a table and more than thirty feet in length (pp. 174, 194)! The parodos of the *Seven* was sung on the proskenion, but the stasimon (vss. 288 ff.), on the thymele (*ἐκτὸς ἀγαλμάτων*, vs. 265). The size of the chorus was reduced by Aeschylus to twelve for the simple reason that the thymele was too small to accommodate a chorus of fifty. Otfried Müller was mistaken (pp. 6, 119).

Henceforward tragedy remained on the stage. The Roman theater, the Hellenistic theater, the theater of the fourth century, the high-soled cothurnus, the mask with its huge ὄγκος, the testimony of the ancients, and common-sense—all support this conclusion. An ounce of Pollux is worth a pound of Dörpfeld. The stage was inconveniently high for those who occupied the seats of honor. But the arrangement favored the people, and this was in keeping with the spirit of democracy (p. 25).

In front of the thymele were placed steps for the use of those who entered by way of the orchestra. These stairways were probably winding like the steps on the Acropolis which lead up to the Clepsydra (p. 147), as is suggested by the reference in the *Ion* (743) to a *περιφερῆ στίβον* and by that in the *Lysistrata* (288) to *τὸ σιμόν*. (But the interpretation of both passages is wrong.) These steps were for persons who came on foot. Does not Pollux (IV, 126) say *πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι?* "Hier ist das 'als Fussgänger' bemerke ns-wert und als Gegensatz zu 'reitend' oder 'zu Wagen' betont" (p. 145). Chariots and other vehicles were drawn up the ramps by men. Horses were not used for this purpose, for they are not mentioned. *Iph Aul.* 619 f. does not count; it is a late interpolation. In the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus the king entered on foot (vs. 240). Ismene in the *Oed. Col.* rode her colt straight up the ramp on to the stage. In the *Frogs* the ass of Xanthias, of course, appeared in the orchestra. But that was in Comedy.

For Old Comedy made generous use of the orchestra as well as of the stage. The statement in Pollux (IV, 123): *σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ή δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ* has reference to Old Comedy, not to tragedy. "Des Pollux Mitteilungen über das Theaterwesen nehmen immer besonders und in erster Linie auf Dinge der alten Komödie bezug" (p. 171). In the City Dionysia, during the fifth century at least, comedies were presented on the second day of the festival (pp. 4, 92, 285). The last three days were devoted entirely to tragedy and satyr-drama and for these the thymele was placed in position. The view now generally favored regarding the program of the City Dionysia is erroneous. The older theory is preferable. The passages containing *ἀναβαίνειν* or *καταβαίνειν*, including *Wasps* 1514: *καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ*, prove that Old Comedy was performed on two levels (p. 86). In the *Lysistrata* even the entire chorus mounted the stage, "und das wird mit Klettern und Gepolter den

grösssten Effekt gemacht haben." The scuffle between the two semi-choruses in the play was held on the proskenion!

Most of the minor arguments, interpretations, deductions, and hypotheses grow out of and cluster about this central thesis of a high proskenion-stage augmented on occasion in the earlier period by the thymele. A large part of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of each of the extant fifth-century plays with the chorus the focal point of interest, the purpose being to show the gradual abandonment of the thymele as *Tanzpodium* in favor of the proskenion (p. 270). For full measure there is appended a long discussion (pp. 271-78) of the *Rhesus* which the author assigns to the fourth century.

The controversial matters are legion. If one should begin to consider them point by point there would be no end. Whatever the merits of Dörpfeld's "no-stage" theory, it served at least to modify certain ideas that were current at the time. Failing to appreciate the progress thus achieved, Professor Birt has written a new kind of *Looking Backward*. If we accept his conclusions, we must return to the nineteenth century. But, in fact, his book will please no one—except thorough-paced reactionaries like himself.

JAMES T. ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

*Life and Literature in the Roman Republic.* By TENNEY FRANK.

Sather Classical Lectures. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930. \$3.00.

In the Preface the author says:

In the senate-house, in the Forum, in the fields of jurisprudence and administration, the Roman revealed daring, versatility, imagination, even philosophic penetration, whereas in literary expression, we were told, he was utterly imitative. . . . Have we neglected to penetrate beneath the fogs of concealing centuries into the active, pulsating life of Roman men and women, and pursued instead the easier task of detecting parallels?

The chief aim of these well-written lectures is then the very laudable one of freeing Roman literature from the charge that it was purely imitative. In this the author has entirely succeeded, though he sometimes goes a bit too far, as is natural in presenting a thesis.

An introductory chapter on "Social Forces" sets forth a theory of literary criticism summed up in the words "Accurate interpretation of any author of the past, therefore, implies a complete migration into the time, the society, and the environment of that author." In sketching the interrelation of Roman politics and literature, Frank remarks that "it would not be an overstatement to find in the plays of Euripides produced in translation on the Roman stage the chief factor" in the sentimental enthusiasm of the Romans for freeing Greece from Macedonian rule. But to many it will seem just that—an overstatement. Livy's account of the drama in vii. 2 is dismissed cate-

gorically and attributed to Accius although several scholars, notably Weinreich and Klingelhöfer, have made its Varroonian origin as convincing as any such matter can be.

In the second chapter, on early tragedy and epic, several good instances show how the Greek plays were changed to meet Roman ideas. Stress is laid on the Latin character of the *senarius* as distinguished from the Greek trimeter. The greater use of song in Roman tragedy is attributed in part to the difficulty of harmonizing verse ictus and word accent. This seems rather dubious. A conjecture that the decline of tragedy was due to the increase in slaves and the consequent development of a proletariat is not convincing. For one thing too many of these slaves were of Greek origin and might be presumed to have some interest in Greek plays.

The next two chapters are on Plautus and Terence. The former is thoroughly Roman in his humor, his volubility, his speed, and his love for intrigue, we are told, but sticks close to his Greek sources and setting because Rome was still too much like Spoon River to see its own vices and weaknesses paraded before its eyes. Very interesting is the suggestion, supported by examples, that Plautus' generous use of Greek words is due to the fact that most of his hearers had been in Greek cities during campaigns and had picked up many Greek expressions.

The chapter on prose rightly insists on the independence of Greek rhetorical theory on the part of men like Cato, but in regard to others this insistence is carried a little too far. We can accept the statement that "Roman prose grew to full maturity from native roots, in native soil, and with native nurture," but may we not assume at least an imported sprinkling can?

The chapter on the historians is particularly good. The suggestion that Polybius owes some of his good qualities to imitation of the Roman annalists is a neat one, calculated to take the wind out of the sails of those who always and only see Roman imitation of Greek. Livy's rise in the esteem of historians as a result of recent discoveries is well illustrated; for example: "In 1926 while Beloch was pronouncing the Livian tradition of the third-century Fasti impossible, an Italian scholar was publishing a newly discovered fragment which proved the tradition correct. Beloch had to retract in an appendix of his volume."

The survey of Cicero's political development is brief but good. The chapter on Lucretius is less successful than some of the others. The suggestion that the fear of punishment after death is due to Etruscan influence because there is little trace of it among the Romans is strange and unnecessary, since the Greek stories had been thoroughly accepted by the Romans, as Lucretius' own illustrations make clear.

These lectures are as readable as all of Frank's books, are full of stimulating suggestions, and teem with interesting comparisons.

B. L. ULLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Seneca's Letters to Lucilius*, Vols. I and II. Translated by E. P. BARKER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. \$3.75.

When any misfortune happens to a European, said an eighteenth-century *philosophe*, he reads a book called Seneca. This is not the eighteenth century. But the epistles to Lucilius still rank with Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius among the best bedside books of edification, and the English-reading world is so large that, though edification is out of fashion, there is still room for another translation of those moral works of Seneca which Macaulay said never prevented anybody from being angry. Mr. Barker's translation is extremely readable. He modestly disclaims any ambition to reproduce "the lively colloquial idiom rising at times into snatches of considerable but not overdriven elevation," and "the surface spontaneity with the undertone of literary cunning which together produce the peculiar sparkle" of Seneca's style. But he has certainly given a very plausible and enjoyable equivalent of it. I do not think that he has overdone it, though some of his vivacities might pass for Americanisms if they came from this side of the water: "He gets the order of the pirouette without more ado"; "A dusky hop-o-my-thumb will tell the elephant to kneel down"; "You pepper death with small shot—take a gimlet to stop a charging lion"; "With God there is no closed door"; "Each of us is given a god as a bear-leader"; "What is justice? quotha"; "Damn cobwebs, the whole lot of it"; "Is this the best moment to root for it?" "I would long to muzzle my alimentary canal"; "The squatters of the philosophic world"; "Hang the consequences"; "The won't is the thing, the can't is camouflage"; "Money drops into some men's pockets as a sixpence hops down a drain"; "I shall plump down a monstrous screed on you"; "As says Dan Virgil"; "Am I to look through all the silly marks with which Aristarchus tattooed other people's poems?" "Pitch all these things on to the liberal education rubbish heap."

In his admirable introductory life of Seneca, Mr. Barker has himself adopted the pregnant brevity of Seneca's style without its affectations. The effect of point-making sometimes recalls the manner of Simcox' *Latin Literature*. But Mr. Barker's points are generally sound. His chief apology for the character of Seneca is that he belonged to the class of "persons of low vitality and considerable, if rather hectic, mental development . . . in whom the sudden presentation of a crisis seems to produce an inhibition."

Mr. Barker holds that it is the business of a translator or editor to present a readable text. He has departed from the text of Hense in a hundred cases or more, most of which are emendations of his own. They are all listed in the notes at the end of the volume. The exegetical notes are of the slightest. The technicalities of Seneca's eclectic Stoicism are cleverly translated. But there is no erudition, no attempt to place Seneca in the history of philosophy, no consideration of his sources or of him as a source. In parody of the shop-girl who didn't find what she looked for in Shelley's revolt of Islam, I might say, "Posidonius not mentioned once!"

PAUL SHOREY

*Il problema della metafisica platonica.* By ERNESTO GRASSI. Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1932. Pp. 223. L. 14.

One way of lessening the labor of interpreting Plato is to take a single dialogue as representative of his entire philosophy. The unity of Plato's thought might lend a certain plausibility to this method if the dialogue selected were the *Republic* or the *Laws*. Dr. Grassi has chosen the *Meno*, which, though it is pronounced a little gem by Mill, and is regarded as the program of the Academy by Wilamowitz, hardly suffices for the purpose. Dr. Grassi, however, finds it a key to what he calls the metaphysical problem of Plato. Owing to the abstractness of his style and the tinge of allegory that pervades it, I find his conception of the problem of metaphysics as difficult to discover and as impossible to proclaim to all mankind as Plato's God. To my thinking, the metaphysical problem for Plato is what it was for Aristotle and Henry Adams: Is there any metaphysics or is physics the first philosophy?

Perhaps Dr. Grassi means that, but he gets at it by describing the Platonic idea *non come soluzione ma come termini del problema*; by arguing that the Socratic method in dialectics as opposed to the intellectual laziness of *Meno* is the essential characteristic of philosophical research; and by concluding that the passage 98 A which identifies knowledge, as opposed to opinion, with causal reasoning and that with "reminiscence" is the key to the philosophy of Plato and the proof of the necessity of a "new interpretation" of that philosophy.

I cannot criticize further, because I do not fully understand. Very puzzling is the statement on page 72 (italics mine):

In quanto il filosofare, nel dialogo socratico, è nella sua essenza approfondire, essere capaci di domandare sempre più radicalmente, il filosofare è essenzialmente una *τένεια*, una fatica, e solo in essa ci si conquista la realtà; il greco chiamava *πίνεοθαι* il faticare quotidiano col quale ci si conquista la propria esistenza. In quanto il carattere di Socrate è l'*essere povero*—affermazione con la quale egli ha cominciato il dialogo—egli è filosofo. E in quanto Menone è ricco e sicuro, egli sistema sì la sua realtà, ma non filosofa.

Is this allegory, etymology, or misapprehension? I do not know.

The little book is obviously written for philosophical rather than for philosophical students, though it refers sufficiently to the recent German and Italian literature of the subject. The Italian reader will find in it a suggestive, though not critically detailed, commentary on the entire argument of the *Meno*.

PAUL SHOREY

---

*Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς. Τπὸ Γεωργίου Ε. Μυλωνᾶ.* Athens, 1932. Pp. 183.

In the present work Professor Mylona makes public the results of his excavations at Eleusis conducted under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Society in the summer of 1930 and 1931 and describes some of the remains un-

earthed during previous excavations and preserved in the local museum. After a few preliminary remarks concerning the history of the excavations and a careful description of the topography and stratification of the excavated region, we come to the main part of the work, which consists of a detailed account of the principal finds divided by the author into: (1) architectural remains, i.e., houses and tombs; (2) pottery; and (3) lesser finds, such as bone, bronze, and stone objects.

Practically all of these remains belong to the Middle Helladic and Late Helladic periods and give us a fair picture of the state of civilization in this part of Greece between, approximately, 2000 B.C. and 1100 B.C. The finds of the Middle Helladic stratum show that the buildings characteristic of this period were usually apsidal, although the rectangular construction was not entirely unknown. They likewise provide evidence of the custom, especially for the early Middle Helladic period, of burying infants intramurally or beneath the floor of the house in small graves with the body lying on its side in a contracted position and with no objects in the grave. In the Late Helladic period, however, the tombs are more spacious, the body lies extended on its back, and objects are frequently found in the graves. This custom is not due to any foreign influence but begins in Middle Helladic times, as is shown from the 5th and 6th tombs, which date from the Middle Helladic III period.

The characteristic pottery of this period consists of Minyan and Matt-painted ware. The most common shapes of the latter are basin-like bowls and pithoi. The decoration in dull white or purplish black is applied either directly on the clay or on a slip. The patterns arranged in zones or metopes are usually linear. Spiral designs, representations of birds, and leaflike decorations are later importations marking the influence of Minoan civilization on the ceramic art of the mainland.

The most common of Minyan ware are bowls with two high-swung handles and splaying rim and goblets on a high stem. The Gray Minyan ware is better known than the Yellow Minyan. Common among Yellow Minyan ware are shallow bowls with two handles set vertically on the rim, a shape which appears to have been common in Middle Helladic times. Many Minyan sherds are decorated with shallow horizontal grooves. This system of decoration is certainly late, appearing after the introduction of Minyan ware toward the end of the Middle Helladic I period, and is in all probability of Cretan origin.

The houses of the Late Helladic I period are similar to those of the Middle Helladic in wall construction and not appreciably different in shape. They constitute an intermediate step between the apsidal type and the Mycenaean megaron. The graves of this period represent the direct and natural evolution of the Middle Helladic tombs, and the interment of infants is the same. Pottery continues the traditions of the Middle Helladic period but develops under the constant influence of Minoan civilization, which, beginning in Middle Helladic III times, becomes more pronounced during the Later Helladic I and II periods.

The description of the finds is followed by a succinct recapitulation and a few reflections on the bearing of these discoveries upon Greek prehistory. The book closes with some general remarks on the chronology of the various Eleusis settlements and an appendix describing the main historical finds, chiefly sherds and coins, dating from the geometric to the Roman period.

This is a carefully executed and ably presented study of the prehistoric settlements of Eleusis in the light of the recent excavations, and one that is on a par with the young author's numerous publications. The occasional typographical inaccuracies are more than offset by the excellent quality of the paper, the unusually large and clear type, and especially by the copious illustrations which enhance considerably the value and appearance of the work.

P. S. COSTAS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[*Classical Philology* acknowledges receipt of Volume I, No. 2, of *Medium Aevum*. It contains articles on the battles in the *Chanson de Roland*, "English Tail-Rhyme Romances," notes on *Pearl*, which it belongs to Speculum to judge. The most interesting paper for classical students is Mr. R. M. Dawkins' "Study of a Cretan Translation," which we leave it to Mr. Costas to describe.—EDITOR.]

The Greek romance of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, written in the early part of the seventh century A.D. by a monk named John in the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine, attained a great popularity throughout mediaeval Europe and was translated into several European languages, including vernacular Greek. A translation into vulgar Greek, or rather the Cretan form of it, was executed by the monk Nicephorus Venetzas in 1632, somewhere in the eastern part of Crete, and is still preserved in manuscript form in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is with the language of this translation that Professor Dawkins attempts to deal in the greater part of this article.

Written during the Venetian occupation, the work attests clearly the cultural influence of the Western Republic, which continued to be felt even after the capture of the island by the Turks in 1669. This influence is especially noticeable in the vocabulary which is impregnated with Italian, Venetian, and even Latin words which the author lists and discusses briefly. He likewise lists all words which are exclusively Cretan and those which are peculiar to this work. Then, by examining the inflections and forms of the words and comparing them with those of the other dialects, he establishes the fact, with considerable degree of certainty, that the translation was written in the eastern part of the island, probably in Candia. A specimen of the text completes this section of the article.

An additional indication of Venetian influence in Crete is the fact that the Cretans, not unfrequently, wrote their language in Latin characters. The practice of writing one's native language in foreign script was very common, and is still found among the peoples of the Near East and particularly among the Jews, who find it necessary and advisable to write the language of their adopted countries in the traditional Hebrew characters. One of the most important examples of this tendency among the Jews is the translation for Greek-speaking Israelites of the Pentateuch written in Constantinople in 1547 and admirably edited by Hesselink (Leyden-Leipzig, 1897). (On this subject cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byz. Lit.*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 909 f. with literature.)

Professor Dawkins illustrates the practice of the Latin transliteration of Greek texts in Crete by a few quotations from a manuscript found in the Marcian Library at Venice, and closes the article with excerpts from later works intended for Greeks of the Roman Catholic faith and some general remarks on peculiarities of transliteration.

It is to be hoped that Professor Dawkins, who is one of our chief authorities on modern Greek dialects and who has just given us the best edition of the chronicle of Makhairas, will be induced to issue an edition of this important work which, we feel sure, will not be without interest to the student of modern Greek dialectology.

P. S. COSTAS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Les vers d'or pythagoriciens.* Edités avec une Introduction et un Comptaire (PIETER CORNELIS VAN DER HORST). Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1932. Pp. 76.

This is a faithful piece of work. The author tabulates the variations from V of eight manuscripts and in the critical apparatus records all his own divergencies from the text of Diehl (*Anth. Lyr.*, I). He has studied the opinions and used the collections of Mullach, Cobet, Nauck, Delatte, Scott, and others included in his Bibliography. He assigns the verses to the second century after Christ and tries to distinguish the good old Pythagorean "sentences" embodied in the work from the inferior lines of the author. He finds, however, more unity and coherence in the poem than Delatte does. His commentary examines the lexicography of all striking or doubtful expressions and quotes the interpretations of Hierocles as well as of many modern commentators. It is especially full on the *tetrakty*s and the daemon as the higher soul or guardian angel. He has little to say of the influence of the poem in modern literature, as, e.g., the history of the idea "Summed the actions of the day each night before he slept," and he misses some opportunities in his lexicographical notes. I give one example: In line 37 on *καλῶν ἀδαήμων* he merely refers to the

use of ἀδαήμων in Homer. But the essential point is that the phrase is a periphrasis for ἀπειρόκαλος as that is paraphrased or anticipated by Pindar's μηδ' ἀπειρατον καλῶν (*Ol.* xi. 18).

PAUL SHOREY

*Platone*: By LUIGI STEFANINI. Padova: Cedam, 1932. Pp. 318. L. 40.

To criticize this book would be to repeat what I have said in scores of reviews and articles in this journal. There is space here only for a *compte rendu*. Professor Stefanini goes over the ground with the practical omission of ethics and politics and the *Laws*, the *Timaeus*, and the dialectical dialogues, which are apparently to be treated in a second volume. He discusses most of the recognized philological problems, taking account of all opinions whether they deserve it or not. And his footnotes refer to most of the literature of the topics which he considers. Especially full are his notes on chronology throughout, on Socrates and Plato, pages 7-12; on Socratic ignorance and irony, page 20; on the *Protagoras*, page 161; on the *Charmides*, page 194; on the *Cleitophon*, pages 201 ff.; on the *Republic*, page 211; and on *Rep.* 508, page 247.

Professor Stefanini in theory would mediate between the extremists who unqualifiedly affirm and those who absolutely deny the unity of Plato's thought. But in practice he is chiefly interested in the development of Plato's art and his metaphysical philosophy in general conformity to his own conception of the chronology of the dialogues. He establishes four groups: (1) the earlier dramatic (in form) dialogues, (2) the narrated dialogues, (3) a transitional group, and (4) the later dramatic dialogues. In broad correspondence with these groups he finds a development from the skeptical or puzzled discussion of the problems involved in the Socratic principles to the distinct announcement that they are insoluble on these principles, and then to the constructive solutions of Plato himself. He accepts the thesis of Horneffer with the qualification that it should be not Plato *gegen* Sokrates, but Plato *über* Sokrates. The two most paradoxical conclusions to which this method leads him are (1) that the *Protagoras* is later than the *Gorgias*, and the *Lysis* later still; (2) that the *Cleitophon* is genuine and is intended to sum up the criticism of Socrates in such dialogues as the *Protagoras*, *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*, and *Charmides*. The *Protagoras* itself is a sort of program or announcement of the Academy.

I need not here develop again my own opinion that we know too little about any philosophy of Socrates to base hypotheses upon it, and that in the minor dialogues Plato seems to me to be consciously pointing in the direction of the *Republic* rather than feeling and fumbling his way toward it.

PAUL SHOREY

## BREVIORA

[The managing editor establishes this subdepartment because of the difficulty of procuring substantial critical reviews of all books, and the impossibility if they were found of printing them in our limited space. It is believed that brief but fair *comptes rendus* will prove more useful than a mere biographical notice. Contributions to this department should never exceed a page, and a paragraph is preferable.]

*Index verborum quae exhibent Sallustii epistulae ad Caesarem.* By EILIV SKARD. "Symbolae Osloenses," Fasc. Supplet. III. Oslo: Some, 1930.

It is sufficient to note the existence of this little *Index*, based on Kurfess' edition of 1921. Because of the brevity of the text covered, the author has been able to give the examples in their contexts.

B. L. ULLMAN

*Index verborum Terentianus.* By EDGAR B. JENKINS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932. Pp. ix+187. \$2.00.

A new index is always welcome, and an index of Terence is particularly so. This one is properly based on the text of Kauer and Lindsay, with inclusion of variants from Umpfenbach and more recent editions. One naturally thinks of Lodge's *Lexicon Plautinum*, but it would be unfair to Jenkins' more modest effort to make a comparison. Much useful information can be gleaned from the work: the number of instances of each word (without having to count them), the total number of words and occurrences, etc. Strict alphabetization is followed throughout; thus under *lex*, *lege* is given before *legis*, etc., and *lex* comes last; the accusative *leges* comes before the nominative because the word accusative takes precedence alphabetically over nominative. Not everything that one might desire is given; so a student of mine working on the position of demonstratives will be disappointed that their adjectival and pronominal uses are not differentiated. Abbreviations are rather numerous and not always clear or explained, e.g., *pa* after *interoscitans* (the list of abbreviations gives *p* as the abbreviation for participle). A perplexing misprint occurs under *bonus*; the second entry should be indented and in light-face type.

B. L. ULLMAN

*Emploi des signes critiques: Disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins—conseils et recommandations.* Paris: Champion, 1932. Fr. 10.

This useful little pamphlet, prepared by Professors J. Bidez, A. B. Drachmann, and K. Hude for the Union Académique Internationale, is a codification of practices current in the editing of classical texts. Its aim is to help toward uniformity and simplification of procedure. The authors are aware that not all of their recommendations will be acceptable to everybody, though they

reached their decisions not only by a study of the practice of editors but after consideration of the criticisms of many scholars to whom a preliminary form of the pamphlet was submitted. Not only texts but papyri and inscriptions are included. All who make critical editions should consult the pamphlet. It is also useful for seminar work.

B. L. ULLMAN

*Virgil and Those Others.* By HOMER F. REBERT. Amherst: Amherst College, 1932.

Two of the eight essays are devoted to Virgil, the rest to "those others," Catullus, Horace, and Juvenal. Their purpose is to "plead for poetic values" in these authors. The keynote is "felicity." They are pleasant reading for lovers of these poets though they do not and do not intend to offer them much that is new. Several have been printed before in periodicals. The first deals with Virgil's happy use of the word *infelix*, the second is a description of the Forum, with pages of quotations from Virgil (in Latin, without references) on any point that a visit to the Forum might suggest to one familiar with Virgil. Another essay deals with Catullus' *Septimius and Acme*, which is called a "symphony of love." All the numerous interpretations of this poem are thrust aside as pedantic, and the puzzling *sinistra ut ante dextra* is "merely a symmetrical gesture," without any particular meaning, for poets do not always say things for the sake of expressing thoughts. It is interesting to see this use of the new poetry to explain the old. It is impossible to deal in detail with other fancies in this essay. Perhaps the most valuable of the papers is the one dealing with the arrangement of words in Horace's *Odes*.

B. L. ULLMAN

*Classical Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe.* Edited by GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. \$3.00.

This handsome volume contains seventeen papers by colleagues and friends of the genial scholar whom all delight to honor. Some of the papers are appreciative essays, as on Quintus of Smyrna (Bates), Sophocles (Hyde), Rome (Lord, who labels his chapters as "in no way a contribution—welcome or unwelcome—to the sum of human knowledge"), others are more technical. A papyrological study (Brewster) throws some interesting and timely light on ancient banking practices. A discussion of the sources of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Gudeman) denies slavish copying of Plato. A paper on the temple of Castor in Rome (Hadzsits) shows how the name of Pollus came to be associated with it. Kent explores a new field in pointing out the "avoidance of homonymity" in Latin—how, for example, certain forms were lost or were changed to avoid confusion with others. McDaniel's excellent paper on Roman social usages discloses the need for a book on ancient etiquette. A Latin papyrus fragment listing military decurions is thoroughly discussed by Sanders. Stuart's fas-

cinating résumé of ancient biological method is not entirely convincing because it does not take into account such statements as that of Catullus in his sixteenth poem. Miss Taylor believes that the prohibition of images in early Roman religion proves that this religion was not naïve and primitive but in a somewhat advanced stage. Wright discusses the meaning of *bidens*. If the foregoing partial list seems heavy reading, which it is not, McCartney's article on ancient humor is in lighter vein. The book closes with a bibliography of Professor Rolfe's publications.

B. L. ULLMAN

*Gesammelte Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance.* Von ERNST WALSER, mit einer Einführung von WERNER KAEGI. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1932. Pp. lx+359. Fr. 20.

This book is a pious collection of the work of Ernst Walser (best known as the author of an indispensable book on Poggio), who died at the age of fifty-two leaving thirty thousand pages of typewritten notes and lectures, and his *magnum opus* on the Renaissance unfinished. The Introduction by Werner Kaegi gives a brief account of the life and *cursus studiorum* of Walser, and sketches the developments and discriminations of German scholarship about the Renaissance since the publication of Burckhardt's well-known but less critical book. Walser thought more highly of the Renaissance than, e.g., Mr. H. G. Wells, who, not liking it, coolly cancels it out of history. But he had learned from Clemens Baeumker not to despise the Middle Ages and realized, we are told, that such thinkers as the nominalists, Buridan, Nicholas of Oresme, Albert of Helmstedt, and even John Scot Erigena were more nearly akin to Galileo and Pomponazzi than were the neo-Platonists of Florence. I should enjoy discussing that thesis, but have space here only for the briefest report on the volume before me.

The Bibliography catalogues Walser's published and unpublished writings, his numerous reviews, and his lectures in Italian, French, and English from 1908 to 1930, specifying those printed or reprinted in this volume. The body of the book contains papers on the councils of Constance and Basel and their relation to humanism; on Coluccio Salutati as type of the older humanists; a readable little lecture on Boccaccio; a paper on "Christenthum und Antike in der Auffassung der italienischen Frührenaissance," which argues that the irreligion of the humanists was not so seriously meant after all; a study of Aretino; a lecture on the French Renaissance; a series of brief studies, "Zur Weltanschauung der Renaissance"; a paper on Des Perrier's *Cymbalum mundi*, which he regards as a satire on Calvin and an anticipation of Montaigne, inspired by Lucian; a German translation of six lectures delivered in English as exchange professor at the University of Cambridge.

The book contains few footnotes and only rare explicit quotations from the sources. Specialists will doubtless find in it many suggestions. My own superficial survey discovers little that the English reader would not get from Sym-

onds, who is not mentioned. Renaissance Platonism is very perfunctorily treated. It obviously did not interest Walser. The references to Ficino merely mention his name. Pico della Mirandula is barely mentioned twice; Pletho, only once. Beneveni is not mentioned. Plato himself is only a name in lists; Elyot, Ascham, Sidney, Spenser, Sir Thomas More, Bacon, Marlowe, are nowhere mentioned.

PAUL SHOREY

*Das Gebet bei Homer.* Von P. JOH. THOMAS BECKMANN. Würzburg: Rita-Verlag und Druckerei, 1932. Pp. 88.

Homer's prayers have been collected and studied before, but never so exhaustively as in this dissertation. No possible point of view seems to have been overlooked in the author's distinctions and classifications. He distinguishes *Bitte* and *Für-bitte*, and *Klage* and *Dank*; vocative, nominative, imperative, and optative; *Bitte ohne und mit Begründung*; the *Du*, *Er und Ich-Stil*; the time, the place, the circumstances of prayer, the attitude of the petitioner, and the reaction of the god. The curious may learn here that *Iliad*. vii. 204 is the only disjunctive prayer in Homer, that the father of the gods and men is never addressed in prayer as Papa; that vocatives predominate over nominatives in the *Iliad*, but that they are equally balanced in the *Odyssey*; that the imperative is most frequent in the *Iliad* and the optative in the *Odyssey* for various interesting psychological and historic reasons. There is a good discussion of δολολυγή. The author has never heard of the British fancy that in *Odyssey*. iii. 450 it is used to propitiate the soul of "our brother, the ox." He insists that *Odyssey*. xxii. 411 means not that it is impious to boast over the slain but to pray over a corpse. There is a sufficient Bibliography.

PAUL SHOREY

*Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists*, Vols. I-IV. Translated by C. B. GULICK. "Loeb Classical Library." London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1927-32.

Professor F. A. Wright in his recent *History of Later Greek Literature* ranks Athenaeus with the world's best bedside books. It is certainly that in Professor Gulick's readable and richly annotated translation. But though I have been enjoying the four volumes thus far published in this way for some time, I have shrank from reviewing them. *Classical Philology* lacks space for a critical study of this immense collection of facts, and Professor Gulick himself would be the only expert reviewer. I may however thank him here in the name of *Classical Philology* and all American scholars for the skill and faithfulness with which he is accomplishing the portentous task of writing the first commentary on the *Deipnosophists* since Schweighäuser. He is certainly making a good job of it. His translation is nearly always correct, and in the proper places racily idiomatic. He has studied all the hard words and is particularly felici-

tous in the rendering of the numerous titles of lost books and plays. He refers the quotations to the best editions of "Fragments," and gives rather more than the usual amount of information about the text and the numerous scholars who have emended it. His explanatory annotations are sufficient, and he subjoins to each volume an Index of Proper Names.

It ought to be superfluous to add that though there are a few, very few, errors, which a captious critic might treat as symptomatic, they are quite certainly not that, but are obviously such slips of the pen or momentary lapses of attention as are not only pardonable but inevitable in so long and exhausting a task.

PAUL SHOREY

*Dio Chrysostom*, Vol. I. Translated by J. W. COHOON. "Loeb Classical Library Series." London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1932. Pp. xiv + 570. \$2.50.

This is an admirable rendering of Dio's literary, flowing, reminiscential style in no less fluent and idiomatic English. Dr. Cohoon or the late Professor Waters, whose rough drafts he has used wherever possible, has a remarkable command of English phrase. He has at least a dozen apt variations for, *οἴμαι*, where the present reviewer would have lazily used the stereotyped "I take it." He is especially happy in his rendering of the many descriptive passages which Dio's pen evidently labored with complacency.

The text is based upon that of von Arnim, improved by several convincing and a great many plausible emendations of Professor Capps and the translator. The Introduction presents a sketch of Dio's life and a sufficient account of manuscripts, translations, editions, and commentaries. The notes are slight but adequate, though comparatively little attention is paid to the sources and the philosophic affiliations of Dio. The translation is not only felicitous but, humanly speaking, correct. I do not myself think that the text of the parenthesis in I. 59 is corrupt and does not yield the required sense. *ὅτι* is "because," and the slightly anacoluthic *οἱ δ'* is idiomatically colloquial. Cf., e.g., vi. 37. So in i. 62 *ὅτι* is again "because," and the meaning, I think, is not "This also is told of Heracles, that he went unclothed, . . . and they add that he did not set great store by gold and silver," but "They say these things of Heracles . . . because he did not set great store, etc." In ii. 8 *κινεῖν* is perhaps rather "draw out," "get a rise out of," than "arouse." In vi. 31 *πραγμάτων δὲ καὶ δικῶν* is perhaps a reminiscence of Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1392 and 1426, and if so *πραγμάτων* is not "public affairs." The explanation of iii. 27 is that it is a reminiscence of Plato *Gorg.* 490 E. In iv. 12 *Ἐντὸς θυρᾶς* is to be explained by Plato *Rep.* 489 B and similar passages. For the old age of the horse, ii. 41, cf. commentators on *Parmen.* 136 E.

PAUL SHOREY

